Residential Segregation Patterns of Latinos in the United States,1990–2000

Testing the Ethnic Enclave and Inequality Theories

Michael E. Martin

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Contents

List of Maps & Figures

MAPS

FIGURES

List of Tables

Chapter One
Introduction

This book will examine how Latino barrios are developing in the United States. The word barrio represents different things to different people. The barrio is a place where Latino culture thrives, where one can eat authentic Puerto Rican chuletas and tostones or hear a Cuban orquestra while sipping a cup of Cuban coffee. The barrio is a place where a Mexican immigrant can get job and find a place to live without speaking English. Spanish is spoken on the street, in stores and restaurants, to offer Anglos the opportunity to experience Latino culture. The barrio is a place where Latino immigrants can find cultural and linguistic comfort and refuge from the new and sometimes unhospitable majority Anglo culture.

The barrio also represents a place of inherent inequality, a place where Latino children are offered sub-standard education in segregated public schools. The barrio is a place where employment opportunities rarely offer a job with a family-supporting wage. A place abandoned by Anglo businesses because "the neighborhood isn't what it used to be." The barrio is a place where banks change higher interest rates if you choose to live there and real estate values will never raise high enough to allow its residents to move beyond a starter home. The barrio is a place that causes Anglos to lock their car doors as they drive across town simply because they hear loud banda music coming from the car next to them at a stoplight.

Literally, the barrio is a place where persons whose ancestry is tied to Spanish colonialism congregate. The barrio is often considered to be outside of mainstream American culture and is physically located in areas of a metropolitan area that have been abandoned by the economic mainstream. Academics refer to places like the barrio as being residentially segregated.

In the past, academics viewed residential segregation of immigrants as a consequence of a voluntary system of social and economic isolation within ethnic enclaves such as barrios. Ethnic enclaves allowed immigrants

a familiar place to live and to get a job to support their family. The children of immigrants reaped the rewards of the enclave and had opportunities to establish a solid economic foothold and start on the path of upward mobility. The upward mobility of immigrant children allowed them to move out of the enclave and spatially assimilate into the economic mainstream (Park 1926, Lieberson 1980). The ethnic enclave model best fits the experience of European immigrants who fled the poverty, overcrowding and political repression of Southern, Eastern and Central Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century but has not explained the experience of African Americans whose forced immigration and subsequent internal migration set the stage for long term structural inequality and persistent residential segregation (Mydral 1944, Jackson 1985, Massey and Denton 1993). The structural inequality of the African American experience is called place stratification by academics due to the emergence of racially segregated neighborhoods based on individual and institutional prejudicial actions (Charles 2003). Although there is no universally accepted theory of Latino residential segregation, it has generally been compared to the ethnic enclave model and has not been seen as a function of individual and institutional prejudicial actions or structural inequality (Massey 1993).

Latino residential segregation has generally been viewed as an example of the ethnic enclave model reminiscent of the segregated urban enclaves of Southern, Eastern and Central (SEC) European immigrants (Massey 1983). Structural inequality issues attributed to Latinos' residential segregation have focused on the experience of Caribbean Latinos (Massey and Bitterman 1985). From this perspective Latino segregation takes on a color dimension that attributes structural inequality to the high degree of African ancestry of Caribbean Latinos (Massey and Denton 1993:112–114). The conclusion that Latino residential segregation is based on the need for ethnic enclaves or that race is the most important factor in Latino segregation ignores the complex history of Latino immigration as well as the current and historical role of immigrant Latino labor in the American economy. Massive increases in Latino immigration and the restructuring and globalization of the American economy confound traditional residential segregation theories and justify the need to develop a new theory that relates specifically to Latinos and Latino subgroups.

The central question of this research is: Is residential segregation for Latinos consistent with the ethnic enclave model, to the structural inequality model, or is there evidence to support a Latino specific theory of residential segregation? Put another way, do Latino barrios in the United States resemble the ethnic enclaves launching pads of successful Italian, Russian Jewish and Hungarian immigrants around the turn of the twentieth century,

or will they resemble the isolated ghettos of post Reconstruction Southern Black migrants after World War I or is the Latino barrio experience unique with its own special set of issues?

In addition, what is the effect of lumping all persons whose ancestry is tied to Spanish colonialism into a single group called Latinos? Latinos come from different countries with different immigrant experiences. What happens when you disaggregate the Latino barrio and look at individual Latino immigrant experiences? Is there a difference in Mexican barrios, Puerto Rican barrios and Cuban barrios and how do those differences impact on residential segregation? The following chapters will answer these questions and better explain the nature of Latino residential segregation.

Chapter Two

Why Do We Need to Study Latino Residential Segregation?

In and of itself, residential segregation is not a problem. Some racial, ethnic and religious groups voluntarily or temporarily segregate themselves in order to build niche ethnic enclave economies or to provide familiar culture to fellow immigrants in a foreign country. Indeed, the wealthy in the United States increasingly segregate themselves in exclusive suburban and gated communities and they do not see their segregation as a problem. Older adults regularly segregate themselves into senior communities and their segregation is not usually seen as problematic. Residential segregation becomes a problem when it is rooted in inequality and racial and ethnic prejudice. Residential segregation that is rooted in inequality and racial/ethnic prejudice builds structural barriers that concentrate poverty and limits residents' social and economic opportunities.

Residential segregation has been an important factor in the development of low-income urban "ghettos," "barrios" and "slums" (Massey and Denton 1993, Jargowsky 1997). This means that residential segregation is an important factor in the development of poor ethnic enclaves. It is a fact that racial and ethnic minority workers in the United States earn less than their Anglo counterparts. Residential segregation exacerbates these economic differences and concentrates urban poverty. Concentrated urban poverty creates a climate of risk: businesses relocate, economic opportunities decrease and real estate is deemed an unwise investment. Residential segregation creates a cycle of disinvestment and creates structural barriers to wealth creation by limiting opportunities for employment and limiting equity potential in the residential housing market.

Residential segregation has been linked to a host of social ills that magnify risk and further limit opportunities for residents of segregated communities. Residential segregation is linked to poor schools and limited educational opportunities for children (Logan, Oakley and

Stowell 2003). Residential segregation also increases health risks, crime, social disorder, and access to positive role models for children (Settles 1996; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1996). Residential segregation represents a barrier to educational and social equality for all non-White people living in urban areas that perpetuates structural inequalities from generation to generation.

The primary problem with residential segregation in the United States is the connection between separate and unequal. If society was separate but equal, residential segregation would not be a problem. However, society in the United States is inherently unequal. Residential segregation magnifies inequality and creates structural barriers to opportunities for a good education, good paying jobs and home ownership. Historically, structural barriers to the American dream have been acute for immigrants and migrants. Latinos are no exception.

Like Southern Eastern and Central (SEC) European immigrants (1880–1920), and African American migrants (1920–1970), many Latinos are moving to different metropolitan areas in the United States to find work. The employment opportunities for these immigrant and migrant groups have traditionally been confined to unskilled and semiskilled jobs (Warner 1972, Lieberson 1980, Davis 2001). SEC European immigrants used manufacturing employment to get a foothold in the economy and move up the economic ladder, providing their families and future generations with substantial economic and spatial mobility. However, racism and structural barriers in the housing and economic markets prevented African Americans from gaining the same foothold as SEC Europeans, thus significantly limiting their economic and spatial mobility (Massey, 1993).

Although Latinos have a history of unequal treatment and racism, the nature of inequality facing Latinos is different than African Americans. Latinos have a long history of being funneled into the secondary labor market where work is low-wage, sporadic and detached from career ladder opportunities. Historically, Latinos (mostly Mexicans) have been viewed as temporary or seasonal workers to be used during labor shortages or given full time work in the least desirable and dangerous jobs. Since the advent of modern farming, Latinos have been used as cheap migrant wage labor (Montejano 1987). The railroad industry also recruited poor Latinos from the Mexican interior for track maintenance (Valdes 2000). United States corporations have long recruited Latino immigrants to work dangerous and dirty jobs in the rubber and steel industries. (Valdes 2000).

The U.S. federal government played a key role in this phenomenon, sponsoring a contract labor program known as the Bracero program that brought low-wage workers, primarily from Mexico, into the US between

1942–1964. The Bracero program gave many Latinos an opportunity to gain a degree of familiarity with the United States (Suro 1998). The number of Braceros allowed into the United States was strictly regulated by the demand for low wage agricultural, manufacturing and railroad labor. When demand was high, more immigrant Latinos were allowed into the country, when demand shrunk, entry was restricted and Latinos were deported. All together, 4.5 million Latinos participated in the Bracero program and were employed mainly in the Southwest and California, but also in other states as far east as Michigan and Ohio. This manipulation of the Latino labor force, sponsored by the U.S. government, set the stage for structural economic marginalization of much of the Latino workforce.

In addition to a history of exploitation in the secondary labor market, Latinos have been negatively affected by more recent economic restructuring. The globalization and deindustrialization of the Americans economy have eliminated millions of low-skilled, high-wage manufacturing jobs, replacing them with low-skill, low-wage service sector jobs (Bluestone and Harrison 1982). These new low-skill, low-wage service jobs represent a new, segmented labor market for immigrants that often act as an occupational mobility trap (Ortiz 2001). Segmented low-skill, low-wage labor has helped keep per capita average income for Latinos below per capita average income for Blacks in New York and Los Angeles (Davis 2001). Latino occupational marginalization has accounted for the fact that increases in median household income from 1990 and 2000 are lower for Latinos than Blacks and Whites for all U.S. metropolitan areas (Lewis Mumford Center 2002).

U.S. deindustrialization had an exceptionally negative effect on Latinos. The 1960s were the beginning of market globalization in the manufacturing industry and the start of segmentation of immigrant labor for industries that stayed in the United States (Lamphere, Stepick and Grenier 1994). The 1970s were also the first full decade after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1964 which eliminated the European bias in immigration laws. The Immigration and Nationality Act initiated the current Latino migration wave and helped change the demographic composition of the U.S. and its work force.

Latino immigration and internal migration including that of Puerto Ricans is dramatically changing the demographic make-up of the United States. Latinos represent one of the largest waves of immigration in United States history. Since 1980, more than 7 million Latinos have legally immigrated to the United States and this does not include the estimated 8 million Latinos living in the United States without documents (Suro

and Lowell, 2002). This compares to the 12.2 million SEC Europeans who immigrated to America between 1880–1920 (Lieberson 1980). This immigration wave is particularly important to the discussion of residential segregation given the history of residential segregation of the previous two large immigrant and migrant waves (SEC Europeans, and African Americans).

Latinos are currently the largest minority group in the United States. The Census estimates the 2000 U.S. Latino population at 35.3 million, while the non-Latino Black population was 33.9 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The social and economic conditions in Mexico, Central and South America and the Caribbean make coming to the United States an attractive option. The immigration "push" factors of historical and economic ties between America and Latino homelands, high poverty, an abundance of labor, and in some cases, government oppression ensure that Latinos will continue to seek opportunity in the United States in decades to come. It is estimated that 100 million Latinos will live in the United States by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).

Latino immigrants and migrants are moving overwhelmingly to urban areas. Every U.S. metropolitan area in the United States experienced an increase in Latinos between 1990–2000 (Lewis Mumford Center, 2002). Currently, 90.9% of all Latinos live in metropolitan areas within the United States. Of the 32.1 million Latinos who live in metropolitan areas, 9.1 million (28.3%) live in metropolitan areas where they experience high levels of segregation (Lewis Mumford Center, 2002). This represents an increase of more than 250% since 1980.

The connection between economic inequality and residential segregation, compounded by a history of economic exploitation warrants in-depth scholarly research on the subject of Latino residential segregation. Most of the scholarly examination of residential segregation is rooted in the African American experience. This focus may be appropriate given the high segregation indices for African Americans and the substantial percentage of African Americans who live in segregated areas. The experience of Latinos has received comparatively little research attention to date. The huge increases in Latino immigration and apparent shortcomings of existing segregation theory warrant a more in depth analysis of Latino residential segregation. This study will provide important insight to racial segregation as it relates to Latinos, and will assist in the development of a Latino specific theory of residential segregation.

Chapter Three

What Has Research on Residential Segregation Told Us So Far?

The vast majority of the academic literature concerning residential segregation has been based on one of two models: the spatial assimilation model or the place stratification model (charts 2003). The spatial assimilation model is generally based on the experiences of SEC European immigrants between 1880–1910. The spatial assimilation model recognizes the phenomenon of SEC European immigrants initially concentrating themselves in ethnic neighborhoods or enclaves for social and economic reasons. Over time, these immigrants learned English and became more familiar with American society. This allowed immigrants to gain employment and housing opportunities beyond their ethnic neighborhoods and to become integrated into American society. This model is rooted in the concept of the American dream defined as the opportunity for immigrants to work hard, earn a family supporting wage, buy a home and offer their children a better quality of life. The spatial assimilation model is also linked to the process of wealth building through increased housing equity related to suburbanization. In this research, the spatial assimilation model is referred to as the ethnic enclave model.

The place stratification model was developed because the traditional ethnic enclave model could not explain the residential segregation experience of Blacks migrating to the industrial Northeast and Midwest after World War I. The place stratification model states that African Americans have been involuntarily segregated into African American neighborhoods with little opportunity to pursue the American dream. This involuntary segregation created structural barriers for African Americans to earn a family-supporting wage equal to that of Anglos, buy a home with value equal to that of Anglos and to offer their children a better quality of life. In this research, the spatial assimilation model is referred to as the structural inequality model.

Academic literature on the residential segregation of Latinos is limited both in the actual volume of research and in theoretical focus. Generally, Latino residential segregation has been measured relative to Black residential segregation rather than as its own phenomenon. Two assumptions underlie the foundations of residential segregation theory as it applies to Latinos:

1) Latino residential segregation is less severe and fundamentally different than Black residential segregation. Studies based on this assumption rely heavily on univariate and multivariate analysis of residential segregation indices. They compare the extent to which Latinos are residentially segregated from Anglos compared to the extent to which Blacks are residentially segregated from Anglos. Social scientists conclude that higher measures of segregation are due to high rates of immigration, lower levels of acculturation, and lower socioeconomic status for Latinos, while Blacks remain highly segregated despite improved socioeconomic status (Massey and Denton 1993). These conclusions are based on regression of segregation measures on independent measures of acculturation, population, and socioeconomic status (Massey and Denton 1987). The vast majority of studies conclude that no other racial or ethnic group is as segregated as Blacks, suggesting that Latino segregation is a temporary or transitional phenomenon that will eventually dissipate.

2) Latino ethnic and racial segregation is more severe for Black and Caribbean Latinos than it is for other Latinos. There is evidence of unique patterns of residential segregation between Latino racial and subgroups. Studies have shown that Black Latinos are more segregated from Anglos than White Latinos (Massey 1993). Other studies point to the importance of the country of origin for Latinos. These studies demonstrate that Puerto Ricans are more segregated than Mexicans and Cubans (Massey and Denton 1989, Santiago and Galster 1995). The most important factor in Latino ethnic and racial segregation is race. Latino subgroups with higher degrees of African heritage are the most segregated from Anglos.

The foundations of Latino residential segregation theory were initially articulated in a series of papers published by Douglas Massey and colleagues, leading up to the publication of the groundbreaking work on racial residential segregation, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Urban Underclass* (Massey and Denton 1993). Currently, most researchers agree with the Latino segregation theory articulated by Massey and Denton in *American Apartheid* that segregation is more closely linked to the ethnic enclave model than to the structural inequality model. This means that Latino segregation is linked to accul-

turation, demographics, and socioeconomic status (Massey and Denton 1987, Massey and Denton 1993).

ETHNIC ENCLAVE MODEL

The development of the spatial assimilation or ethnic enclave model began in the 1920's by the famous Chicago School sociologists. Sociologists Robert Park and Earnest Burgess built the urban ecology model based on their observations of SEC Europeans in the neighborhoods of Chicago. Their model tried to explain the spatial organization of urban areas based on the settlement patterns of newly arriving immigrants. Park and Burgess stated that poorer immigrants tended to build their own communities in older neighborhoods surrounding manufacturing plants and that wealth increased as they moved further from the these industrial areas. Their concentric circles model showed that as immigrants gained wealth they moved out of their ethnic neighborhoods.

Historically, newly arriving migrants and immigrants have settled in declining neighborhoods near their workplace. Migrants and immigrants choose declining neighborhoods because of economic factors, mainly the lower cost of housing and transportation (Warner 1972). These neighborhoods become ethnic enclaves where culture and language are socially bonding. The spatial and social isolation of the ethnic enclave provide both economic opportunity and shelter from the dominant culture but the isolation from the mainstream may also provide opportunity for exploitation by fellow ethnics (Portes and Stepick 1993). The level of segregation within the ethnic enclave intensifies in proportion to the size of the immigrant group (Lieberson 1980). In other words, the larger the number of people in the ethnic enclave, the more segregated the enclave becomes.

Gradually, migrants and immigrants learn the language and culture of the dominant society, gain human capital, and start the process of entering mainstream culture and the mainstream economy. That is, they begin to take jobs outside of the enclave economy, jobs that have higher wages and better opportunities for advancement. As second and third generation immigrants became more and more comfortable with the dominant culture, they learn to speak the language and negotiate interpersonal relationships with other groups, and accumulate the accoutrements of the mainstream way of life. The nature of low-skill, high-wage labor allowed migrants and immigrants to build wealth, acquire occupational status and become integrated into the economy and the community. Although some SEC immigrants did experience unequal treatment in employment and housing opportunities

outside of the enclave and in the larger society, SEC immigrant segregation mostly reflected the pace of acculturation, not structural inequality or intentional discrimination. The process of acculturation and subsequent increased socioeconomic status reduced the social and spatial isolation of residents of the ethnic enclave and facilitated residential mobility (Lieberson 1980). Although immigrants assimilated into the dominant culture, the ethnic enclave community remained the hub for new immigrants and a cultural touchstone for assimilated ethnic and racial minorities (Lieberson 1980, Portes and Stepick 1993).

The phenomenon of Southern, Eastern and Central (SEC) European immigrants building ethnic enclave communities in the early 1900s provides the most frequently cited example of the ecological process of ethnic enclave building and ethnic assimilation as it relates to residential segregation. In the early 1900s, low-skill, low-wage labor in large American cities was predominately SEC Europeans (Lieberson 1980). SEC European immigrants had been coming to America in large numbers since the 1880s and represented the vast majority of new residents in northern cities by 1910. These immigrants came to America with different languages, dress and folkways. Upon their arrival, they took up residence in ethnic enclaves. These enclaves provided social and cultural support mechanisms for newly arriving immigrants. This self-segregation helped immigrants survive in a new and often inhospitable environment. Although some immigrants experienced unequal treatment in housing opportunities outside of the enclave and in society, residential segregation was a function of the acculturation process, population size, and socioeconomic status, not of structural inequality or intentional discrimination.

In *A Piece of the Pie: Black and White Immigrants Since 1880*, Stanley Lieberson provided historical insight into segregation between 1880–1930. Lieberson calculated an index of isolation for Blacks and for foreign-born Europeans in the 17 largest non-Southern cities (see Appendix 1). The index of isolation (P*) is a segregation measure of exposure, a calculation of the probability of inter-group interaction. The Lieberson data reveals that although patterns varied by city, overall only a few SEC immigrant groups (Italian and Russian) had higher rates of isolation than Blacks. Others (Austrians and Hungarians) had comparable rates of isolation to Blacks. Lieberson found a strong link between the proportion of the total population represented by the sub-group and its index of isolation. One way of interpreting this data is that SEC European segregation was due to groups' rapid population growth and the need for an ethnic enclave to help people transition into the social and economic mainstream.

Anti-immigrant sentiments following World War I severely curtailed SEC immigration. The percentage of foreign-born SEC Europeans started to drop in ethnic enclaves and SEC segregation rates declined (Lieberson 1980). Second generation immigrants began to leave the confines of the ethnic enclave and started to integrate with the native-born Northern European Whites. These second and third generation SEC Europeans were in fact native-born Whites and assimilated into American language, economy and culture. Integration of SEC Europeans is demonstrated by lower isolation indexes between 1910 and 1930. The relationship of ethnic composition and isolation continued to be positive, despite falling isolation indexes. This indicates that the functionality of the segregated ethnic enclave was declining and SEC Europeans began assimilation and integration with native-born Whites.

The SEC European immigrant experience strongly suggests that the ethnic enclave serves a critical need for migrants and immigrants in terms of providing a place to acculturate and survive in their new environment. Overall, SEC Europeans integrated into non-migrant communities through acculturation and increased economic status. As their ethnic folkways merged into native-born Anglo American culture, SEC Europeans became virtually indistinguishable from native Anglos within a few generations. However, generational integration of non-White ethnic enclaves is fundamentally different and offers a challenge to the ethnic enclave theory as it relates to Latinos in general and to Latino sub-groups as well.

Inherent in the ethnic enclave model is the notion of residential ethnic succession. The process of residential ethnic succession starts with the entry of a racial or ethnic group into a neighborhood occupied by an older racial or ethnic group. Following the initial movement of a new group into a neighborhood, there is a period of transition during which the population of majority residents declines and the incoming minority group grows. Eventually, the new migrant group displaces the older migrant group, transforming the neighborhood.

The degree to which the older group moves out of a neighborhood is directly tied to the desirability or perceived status of the newly arriving immigrant group and the older group's improved socio-economic status. According to this model, the process of residential succession will continue as long as new migrants arrive (Massey 1983). The complete exodus of SEC European immigrants from neighborhoods that Blacks moved into is a function of the perceived desirability of Blacks as neighbors. Over time, the desirability of Latinos as neighbors will be reflected in the degree to which a neighborhood's population turnover. Neighborhoods that become

exclusively Latino may be an indication of the lower relative status of Latinos in the social hierarchy of American metropolitan areas.

STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY MODEL

The ethnic enclave model has not explained the experience of Black Southern migrants coming to Northern cities looking for work. Blacks did, in fact, build ethnic enclaves similar to those of SEC European immigrants. However, their segregation was not a voluntary segregation, rather it was imposed on them by majority society. Involuntary segregation was maintained through a network of individual and community actions and institutional practices and was often supported by government services and programs (Massey and Denton 1993). In other words, racism has kept Blacks spatially isolated regardless of economic status.

In 1900, Blacks comprised a relatively low percentage of the population in Northern cities. The great migration of southern Black workers to northern industrial cities was in its infancy and the process of urbanization of migrant farm workers and laborers had not yet begun. The majority of Blacks already living in northern cities had arrived after the Civil War and by 1900 they represented a small but generally accepted part of the northern cities' population. This is not to suggest that Blacks were treated equally in northern cities but they were more readily assimilated into northern culture than might be expected in light of current segregation levels. At the time, Blacks were not perceived as a threat to White racial homogeneity. In general, northern Black segregation rates were low at this period because their numbers were relatively small and their occupational status was overwhelmingly domestic in nature. Domestic workers tended to live with or near their employers. Low Black indices of isolation were due to their low numbers and their occupational status rather than to equality in residential choice (Lieberson 1980, Massey and Denton 1993).

After 1910, the pattern began to change for Blacks. Fleeing the poverty and violence of the Jim Crow south, Blacks migrated north looking for work and safety. Black migration also reflected the increasing mechanization of farming, a series of droughts and the infestation of the boll weevil on the southern cotton crop. In short, the economic system of sharecropping became obsolete. The industrialization of northern cities offered new economic opportunities for southern Blacks outside of domestic service. The migration of hundreds of thousands of Blacks after World War I (1920–1940) changed the racial composition of northern cities. Much like foreign-born SEC Europeans, Black segregation rates were

positively related to the proportion of Blacks in the city. Every decade between 1900–1950 saw an increase in residential segregation in Northern cities (Lieberson 1980).

Lieberson used the isolation index of Anglos to illustrate the point that newly arriving Blacks were limited to housing opportunities within the newly designated Black areas (see Appendix 1). When Blacks were few in number and working in domestic positions in northern cities, Black isolation indexes were low and Anglo isolation indexes were high. In order to keep Anglo neighborhoods homogeneous, newly arriving Blacks were forced by local residents to live in certain parts of town. The Lieberson data on seventeen northern cities reveals that in 1890, the average Anglo lived in a ward that was 97.2% Anglo and the average Black lived in a ward that was 6.7% Black. By 1930 the average Anglo lived in a ward that was 95.4% Anglo and the average Black lived in a ward that was 29.9% Black. The Anglo isolation rate dipped by 1.8 percentage points and the Black isolation rate increased by 23.2 percentage points (See Table 1). The establishment of neighborhoods that were meant to exclusively house Blacks was a tangible example of structural inequality.

After 1910, Black segregation skyrocketed to levels that were far above those ever witnessed by SEC Europeans. When Blacks were limited to domestic and other narrowly defined occupations and their overall population was small, they were not seen as a threat to Anglo homogeneity. As Black occupational status in the north moved to factory labor and their numbers greatly increased, Anglo residential homogeneity was threatened. To maintain Anglo residential homogeneity, Anglos turned to institutional measures to ensure homogeneity.

Institutional practices severely limited where Blacks could live. Exclusionary zoning laws and restrictive covenants denied Blacks the opportunity to live outside traditionally Black areas. This created more demand for housing within Black neighborhoods than could be met, allowing landlords to charge rents that were higher than in comparable neighborhoods. The practice of blockbusting, the process of selecting which Anglo-only blocks would be sold to Black persons, allowed real estate agents to selectively control Black homeownership opportunities and charge higher prices for homes. This and other racist real estate practices segregated Blacks into the oldest and least economically viable neighborhoods. In addition, Blacks had, and continue to have, unequal access to capital. Banks and lending institutions deny Blacks mortgages at a higher rate than Anglos (Squires 1994). Structural inequalities in the housing market and lending practices limited homeownership opportunities for Blacks, and allowed market forces to charge Blacks higher rents

and mortgages for property that had relatively lower levels of economic value and equity potential.

Government programs may have assisted in segregating the housing market for Blacks. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) which financed half of home mortgages between 1950–1970 redlined older and Black neighborhood (Jackson 1985). FHA, which still sets the standard for housing finance policy in the United States, declared certain neighborhoods "risky" investments and restricted their lending accordingly. Because of segregation, redlining had a vastly disproportionate impact on Blacks. (Jackson 1985). In addition, interstate highway construction, urban renewal and public housing construction eliminated large sections of Black neighborhoods, frequently creating physical barriers between Anglo and Black neighborhoods, further exacerbating the already strained Black housing supply. The displaced residents of demolished housing were often housed in new federally funded public housing, heavily concentrated in poor Black neighborhoods. In summary, instead of abating segregation, the federal government assisted segregation practices at the local level and set the industry standard for defining risky investments, both major contributors to segregation in the United States (Jackson 1985).

The concept of structural inequality relates to Latino and Latino subgroup residential segregation has received relatively little attention. There have been a few attempts to quantify inequality by developing comparative demographic and socio-economic outcome measures. Despite the lack of theoretical constructs around Latino inequality, there is ample evidence that Latinos suffered negatively from the factors highlighted in Massey and Denton's theoretical framework of structural inequality in residential segregation: individual racist actions, racist institutional practices, and racist government programs in the housing market. This does not mean that Latinos suffered as much inequality as Blacks, but that the same factors were involved.

Individual racist actions are exemplified by violence targeted against Mexicans in Texas from 1860–1920 and the Texas Rangers intentionally target Mexicans for the purposes of retribution. The infamous Los Angeles Zoot Suit Riots targeted random Mexicans in the 1940s (Sanchez 1993). There are also well-documented reports of random violence against Puerto Ricans in 1950's New York (Suro 1998). Mexican-Americans were lynched in Texas without due process until World War I (Sanchez 1993, Suro 1998).

Latinos in the United States have also endured racist institutional practices. Examples of racist institutional practices can be seen in exclusionary practices of local governments in the early 1900s that were developed in order to spatially segregate Mexicans in all forms of public life in the Southwest

(Sanchez 1993). Mexican children were segregated into Mexican schools in California until 1946 when 9th Federal Circuit Court ruled Mexican schools unconstitutional in the *Mendez v. Westminster* case. The struggle for education desegregation did not end in Texas until the *Herminca Hernandez v Driscoll Consolidated ISD* decision in 1957. By 2000, Latinos school segregation was higher than African Americans (Logan, Oakley and Stowell 2003).

Residentially, Mexicans were legally segregated in many towns by racially restrictive covenants and racist real estate practices prevailed as late as the 1940s (Valdes 2000, Valdes 1991). The ethnic enclave of Puerto Ricans in New York City was decimated by urban renewal efforts in the 1960s (Suro 1998). Indeed, the Federal Housing Administration defined all Latino communities in the United States as "risky investments" until the 1960's (Jackson 1985). There is a long a deep level of inequality in society between Anglos and non-Anglos (Suro 1993, Gonzales 2000)

Recent studies document continued high levels of inequality in the United States for Latinos. Puerto Ricans in New York still experience many structural barriers in the New York housing market (Rosenbaum 1992) and Mexicans in Chicago today are often victims of racist and illegal real estate practices (Bencauter 1996). The U.S. government has acknowledged that half of all real estate encounters for Latinos involve discriminatory behavior (US Dept of HUD 1989). Evidence of structural inequalities supports the notion that Latino residential segregation is based on more than just a lack of acculturation, demographics and low economic status.

LATINO SEGREGATION

Since the inception of segregation research, Latinos have been recognized as being disproportionately affected in the development of urban neighborhoods in Chicago (Park 1926). The Chicago School sociologists were the first to document the process of spatial assimilation that immigrants and migrants experienced in developing neighborhoods in Chicago. In 1933, sociologist Homer Hoyt ranked race nationalities based on their perceived beneficial effects on land values and placed Blacks and Mexicans at the bottom of the list. Hoyt's ranking was based on observations of local attitudes and was a simple correlation that race and ethnic status disproportionately affected real estate values.

Although the link between negative Anglo attitudes toward Mexicans and real estate values was recognized very early, research on Latino segregation has been limited. Published materials about Latino segregation started to

appear in the late 1970s (Massey 1979). During the 1980s, several journal articles on Latino segregation were published. The majority of 1980s Latino specific segregation research revolved around statistical analysis of segregation indexes and comparisons of those indicies to African American segregation indexes (Massey 1981, Massey and Denton 1987, Massey and Denton 1993). Douglas Massey and his co-authors, mostly Nancy Denton, have written the majority of Latino specific segregation literature, concentrating on analysis of U.S. Census data between 1970 and 1980. Post-1980s, Latino specific segregation research has been limited, especially on trends after 1990. Most studies have concentrated on issues of economic segregation and have not challenged the basic premise that inequality theory is only relevant to Latinos with a higher degree of African ancestry (Massey 1993).

MEASURES OF SEGREGATION: UNIVARIATE STATISTICS

The decennial census offers the most in-depth survey of population, including socioeconomic and housing data available. The U.S. Census Bureau recognizes 16 different measures of segregation that are clustered into five key dimensions: evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization and clustering. The vast majority of segregation studies have relied on just one of these statistics, the Index of Dissimilarity (evenness).

The Index of Dissimilarity, or (D) score, is a measure of how evenly a group is spatially distributed. Conceptually, the (D) score measures what percentage of a group would have to relocate, within a geographic unit, to achieve an even distribution. An even distribution means members of a group are distributed over every geographic unit of analysis (usually census tracts, blocks or wards) in proportion to the composition of the total population. An index of 0.0 is the lowest possible measure and means that a group is evenly distributed across all census tracts. An index of 1.000 is the highest possible measure and means every person would have to relocate to achieve an even distribution across all census tracts. A (D) score of 0.0 to 29.9 would suggest a fairly evenly distributed population and is considered a low measure of segregation. A score of 30.0 to 59.9 would suggest a moderate level of segregation, and a score of 60.0 to 100 is considered highly segregated, or a highly uneven distribution. The (D) score has been an accepted measure of residential segregation since the 1960s (Tauber and Tauber 1964).

U.S. CENSUS MEASUREMENT OF LATINOS

Two fundamental problems with measuring Latino segregation are inconsistent definition used by the U.S. Census to enumerate Latinos and the

extent to which demographers treat Latinos as an ethnic umbrella definition for descendants of Spanish colonialism. There are several things to consider. First, the U.S. Census of Population and Housing is a self-reporting census. A distrust of the government by immigrants, a lack of familiarity with the importance of the census, and high levels of undocumented persons make it difficult to count all Latinos living in the United States. Latinos are undercounted at a higher rate than the general population. Second, until 1970, there was no question in the census that asked asked for Latino origin or Latino ethnic group, so there was no way to obtain an accurate enumeration of Latinos as a group or a Latino racial and sub-groups.

Another consideration is that, in 1970, the U.S. Census employed a "Spanish American" definition for Latinos. This definition is problematic because it was based on a small (5%) sample and was widely misinterpreted by many persons. More accurate estimates have been constructed from a (15%) sample item "persons of Spanish language" plus, in five southwestern states, other persons with Spanish surnames. The combination of these items defined the sample that was used in studies of Latino segregation for 1970 (Massey and Denton 1988).

It is only since 1980 that the Census has provided a clear count of Latinos. In the 1980, 1990 and 2000 U.S. Censuses, a separate question was asked on race and Hispanic Origin, as well as Latino racial and ethnic categories. The "Latino/Non-Latino" question in the U.S. Census makes it possible to measure segregation of Latino populations as its own race or ethnic sub-group. It is also possible to measure segregation from a Latino ethnic or country of origin perspective. U.S. Census data from 1980—2000 is the most accurate data to measure Latino segregation.

UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF LATINO SEGREGATION

In 1987, Massey and Denton used census data to calculate the Index of Dissimilarity (D) scores for Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, in 1970 and 1980. This review will address Anglos, Blacks and Latinos only. In Massey and Denton's sample of 60 metropolitan areas, Blacks were more segregated than Latinos. Blacks had a median Index of Dissimilarity of 79.2 in 1970 and 69.4 in 1980 and Hispanics 44.4 and 43.4 respectively. Thus, the gap between the median Black and median Latino segregation rate was 34.8 points in 1970 and 26.0 points in 1980.

Massey and Denton's study also revealed differences in average (D) scores when controlling for region and SMSA size. Black (D) scores were highest in the North Central region in both 1970 and 1980, and lowest

rates in the West and South. Latino (D) scores were highest in the Northeast in 1970 & 1980, and lowest rates in the North Central and South.

Massey and Denton concluded from this evidence that Latino segregation is a function of the nature and destination of Latino immigration and the concept of immigrant "hubs":

> " . . . the level of black segregation remains quite high, especially in cities where the majority of urban blacks live. Hispanic segregation is relatively moderate, although it has increased substantially in areas of rapid immigration" (Massey and Denton 1987, p.823).

In addition to metropolitan level indicators of segregation, the internal metropolitan measures of segregation, suburban (D) scores and central city (D) scores, are important measures in understanding the nature of segregation. Traditional ethnic enclave theory suggests that central city (D) scores should be higher than suburban (D) scores because immigrant enclaves are traditionally located in central cities as acculturated immigrants in suburban areas are assumed to have less need for an ethnic enclave. In contrast, inequality theory suggests that (D) scores for suburban areas and central city areas should be fairly similar because structural factors continue to work regardless of socioeconomic status. Inequality theory suggests that a group's suburbanization rate (suburban population/total population) within a metropolitan area will not be not statistically correlated with that group's (D) score at the metropolitan level (Massey and Denton 1987).

In Massey and Denton (1988b), (*D*) scores for suburban areas and central city areas were calculated from 1980 U.S. census data for Blacks and Latinos. Results revealed that Blacks remained highly segregated in central cities with a (D) score of 69.1 and moderately segregated in the suburbs with a (D) score of 57.3. Latinos were also more highly segregated in central cities than in the suburbs but their segregation levels were lower overall with moderate segregation in central city areas, with a (D) score of 45.0 and in suburban areas, with a (D) score of 37.9. The gap between central city areas and suburban areas was 11.8 points for Blacks and 7.1 for Latinos.

When comparing Black and Latino segregation rates within central cities and within suburbs, the gap between Black and Latino segregation rates was higher in central city areas than in the suburbs. In fact, suburban (D) scores were moderate for both Blacks and Latinos, albeit on the higher end of moderate for Blacks and the lower end of moderate for Latinos. Massey and Denton's results showed two things, that central cities are

more segregated than the suburbs and that the gap between Blacks and Latinos is high in central city areas than it is in suburban areas.

Examination of segregation patterns by region showed that the suburban segregation rate was highest for Blacks in the Northeast and North Central region of the country, and highest for Latinos in the Northeast. The South and West had the lowest levels of suburban segregation for both groups. West and South suburban rates for Blacks suggested a moderate level of segregation while North and Northeast were still high. Overall, suburban segregation rates were lower than central city rates. Massey and Denton concluded that black suburbanization somewhat mitigates high levels of segregation in central cities partly due to low numbers of Blacks in the suburbs, and partly due to decreasing residential dissimilarity. However, suburbanization seems to lead to greater spatial assimilation for Latinos than it did for Blacks.

Overall, Massey and Denton showed that Blacks experienced a higher degree of segregation than Latinos, a pattern they found to be consistent over time and place (Massey and Denton 1987 & 1988b). What Massey and Denton missed, however, is that the gap between Black and Latino segregation rates decreased between 1970 and 1980 from 34.8 to 26.0 a drop of 25%. In addition, suburbanization reduced the gap between Blacks and Latinos. The gap was 34.3 for (D) scores in the central city and 19.4 (D) scores in the suburbs in 1980. A reduction in the Black-Latino Gap in residential segregation indicates that Black and Latino segregation is becoming smaller.

LATINO SUB-GROUP SEGREGATION: LATINO-WHITE AND LATINO-BLACK

Massey and Denton published the only comprehensive study comparing the segregation patterns of Latinos by race to Anglos, or Latinos-White and Latinos-Black (1989a). They calculated (D) scores for a limited sample of 10 metropolitan areas from U.S. census data for 1970 and 1980 and concluded that Latinos-White have a moderate level of segregation from Anglos (57.7), are highly segregated from non-Latino Blacks (68.6) and moderately segregated from Latinos-Black (57.7). Latinos-Black have a high level of segregation from Anglos (80.0) and are moderately segregated from Blacks (46.3) and, again, are moderately segregated from Latinos-White (57.7). This indicates that under the minority/majority model of segregation, Latinos-Black are more segregated than Latinos-White (57.7 vs. 80.0). The authors conclude that the results of their study underscore the significance of race as an important factor in Latino residential segregation.

The methodology of the Massey and Denton study is to the evaluation of the results. The authors assert that the U.S. Census over-enumerates Latinos-Black especially in the South. The authors believe that this over-enumeration is due to the fact that many non-Latino Blacks in the South checked the "Hispanic" box on the Census form because of their desire to be identified as "American." Hispanic boxes in the Census classify Hispanics as "Mexican American" or "Central or South American."

Due to over enumeration of Latinos-Black the authors limited their study to metropolitan areas selected for this study based on three criteria: 1) Metropolitan areas where Puerto Ricans and Cubans consisted at least 30% of all Latinos-Black; 2) Metropolitan areas of states on the eastern seaboard; and 3) Metropolitan areas with large Puerto Rican populations. This whittled their sample universe of SMSAs to 10. In addition, the authors made four adjustments to census tract data that eliminated 8,328 black Hispanics from the 10 metropolitan areas. The amount of adjustments needed for the Massey and Denton study on residential segregation patterns of Latinos-Black and Latinos-White is problematic.

Furthermore, the entire concept of measuring Latinos-Black and Latinos-White residential segregation is methodologically problematic. The U.S. Census forces Latinos to place themselves in a dichotomous racial category that is foreign to most of them especially Puerto Ricans and other Caribbean Latinos (Rodriguez, 1991). Indeed in 2000, 47.4% of all Latinos opted not to choose one of the dichotomous racial categories and simply pick "other." In 34 metropolitan areas, 50% or more of all Latinos choose "other" in the U.S. Census racial category (U.S. Census, 2000). The percentage of Latinos self-reporting as "other" is increasing. In 1980, 33.7% of Latinos chose "other" under the racial question. Between 1980 and 2000 the percentage of Latinos not declaring a race doubled (Logan 2003). Indeed, in 2000, over 97% of all Americans who choose "other" in U.S. Census was Latinos. The U.S. Census racial data for Latinos reveal that a large proportion of Latinos reject being classified by an Anglo defined version of race.

In addition, the U.S. Census racial category for Latinos yields data that does not fit the historical link between persons of African origin and Caribbeans. Caribbean Latinos are highly concentrated in the Northeast region and in Florida but the metropolitan areas with the highest percentage of Latinos-Black are highly concentrated in the Deep South. The Deep South accounts for 17 of the top 20 metropolitan areas in percentages of Latinos-Black. The top 5 percentages of Latinos-Black: Pine Bluff, AR; Jackson, MS; Florence, SC; Albany, GA; and Monroe, LA all have less than 20% of their Latino populations of Caribbean origin.

The phenomenon of Deep South Latinos-Black may be a result of intermarriage of Latinos and Blacks or it may be a misunderstanding of the U.S. Census question. In any event, the U.S. Census category of race yields data that are unreliable for Latino residential segregation studies.

LATINO SUB-GROUP SEGREGATION: MEXICANS, PUERTO RICANS AND CUBANS

Despite the fact that ethnicity is an important part of the Latino immigrant experience, very little academic attention has been paid to ethnicity within the segregation literature. Only two studies have been published on Latino ethnic residential segregation for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans, one authored by Douglas Massey (1981), the other authored by Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1989b). Massey (1981) drew the conclusion that higher segregation rates of Latinos from Blacks is evidence of a segregation pattern parallel to previous ethnic segregation and that higher segregation from Anglos is evidence of a segregation pattern parallel to Blacks:

> "Mexicans and Cubans segregation levels were at the top of the range usually observed for European ethnics groups, but were still lower than levels typical for Blacks; and like other sub-groups, Mexicans and Cubans were quite highly segregated from Blacks. Puerto Ricans, in contrast, evinced a high degree of segregation from non-Hispanic whites and a low degree from Blacks and their segregation did not fall with rising socio-economic status." (Massey, 1981 p. 73)

In the second study, Massey and Denton (1989b) analyzed the ten largest Latino metropolitan areas for each of the three major U.S. Latino immigrant and migrant groups (Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans). Mexican segregation (*D*) scores were highest when compared with Cubans (66.3) and non-Latino Blacks (60.1), followed closely by, non-Latino Anglo (51.9) and less so with Puerto Ricans (48.5). Puerto Rican segregation (*D*) was highest when compared with non-Latino Blacks (66.6), non-Latino Anglos (66.5), Cubans (63.2), followed closely by Mexicans (57.2). Cuban segregation (*D*) was highest when compared with non-Latino Blacks (79.8) and Mexicans (64.5), followed by non-Latino Anglos (57.7), Puerto Ricans (56.0). The authors concluded:

> "Puerto Ricans, alone among Hispanic groups, face a serious risk of becoming part of an isolated urban underclass cut off spatially from the rest of American society" (Massey and Denton, 1989b p. 81).

The high levels of segregation between Puerto Ricans and Anglos, and Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and lower levels of segregation of Puerto Ricans and Blacks demonstrate the unique segregation experience of Puerto Ricans. The authors hypothesized that "Puerto Rican segregation is due to their low-socioeconomic status, their recent arrival, and their Afro-American racial heritage" (Massey and Denton, 1989b p. 76).

Mexicans "do not give the appearance of being highly segregated" (Massey and Denton, 1989b p. 75). Although overall Mexicans had moderate rates of segregation from Anglos and high rates of segregation in cities with the largest number of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans (Los Angeles and Chicago), the authors concluded that Mexican segregation from Anglos is most likely explained by ethnic enclave building bolstered by massive immigration and population growth. In turn, the authors concluded there is evidence of an on-going process of assimilation in metropolitan areas where large Mexican populations have created high segregation rates.

High rates of Cuban segregation are also explained by high immigration rates, concluded the authors, but Cubans differed from Mexicans because they were even more highly segregated from Anglos, especially in areas where Cubans are most concentrated (Miami and New York). Cubans mirror Mexicans in their high rates of segregation from Blacks. The authors also conclude that Mexicans and Cubans will experience spatial assimilation as their socio-economic status improves, while Puerto Ricans face a more racialized segregation that mirrors that of African Americans.

Massey and Denton's study of Latino sub-group segregation has two statistical flaws that must be corrected in future studies. First, the authors do not weight the statistical means by the size of the population. Instead, the authors eliminated metropolitan areas based on subjective observations. Massey and Denton categorize Puerto Rican /Black (*D*) scores as moderate because the majority of Puerto Ricans live in New York, NY, Paterson, NJ, and Boston, MA. These three metropolitan areas yield a moderate (D) score. This is how the authors justified a moderate segregation rate for Puerto-Ricans/Blacks.

Second, the authors rely heavily on the ordinal measures of low-moderate-high segregation. Using an interval (integer) measure more accurately reflects the difference in (D) scores between different racial and sub-groups. Massey and Denton base their claim that Mexican segregation patterns are less severe due to the fact that ordinal measures of segregation of Mexicans/Anglos are moderate and Mexicans/Blacks are high. An interval analysis reveals that the difference in these to (D) scores is

only .081 points. Segregation research should involve a weighted sample of all metropolitan areas and should analyze the data from an interval level.

Measuring Latino sub-group segregation patterns based on ethnic differences is a more valid approach than by racial category. For the purpose of this study, Latino sub-group segregation patterns will be measured by ethnic differences. Using the Latino sub-groups of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Although, these are not the only Latino sub-groups, they are the only Latino sub-groups that have sufficiently large numbers and have a wide enough geographic dispersion in the United States to offer meaningful results.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF LATINO SEGREGATION

Regression analysis can help explain the interurban variation in segregation by estimating statistical models derived from the accepted segregation theory. Few studies have attempted to analyze Latino segregation through a regression model. The regression methodology employed in this analysis will mirror the regression work done by Massey and Denton (Massey and Denton 1987). This methodology will correlate the Index of Dissimilarity as a dependent variable and measures of demographics, socio-economic status, housing, and occupation as independent variables, following the work of the Massey and Denton in using two levels of statistical significance $p<.10$ and $p<.05$.

Massey and Denton (1987) developed a regression model for Black and Latino (D) scores (dependent variable) and 15 independent demographic and socio-economic variables (9 for Blacks). Certain variables were excluded for Blacks because they pertain to immigration and Latino ethnic groups.

DEMOGRAPHIC MEASURES

Percentage of Total Population-1980 (Black and Latino)
Percentage Population Growth Compared to Anglos 1970–1980 (Black and Latino)
Percentage of Total Population Suburbanized-1980 (Black and Latino)
Percentage of Population Native Born-1980 (Latinos Only)
Growth Rate of Foreign Born 1970–1980 (Latinos Only)
Percentage of Person that Speak English "Well" -1980 (Latinos Only)
Percentage of Population Mexican-1980 (Latinos Only)
Percentage of Population Puerto Ricans-1980 (Latinos Only)
Percentage of Population Cuban-1980 (Latinos Only)

Percentage of Population Latinos-Black-1980 (Latinos Only)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC MEASURES

Median Family Income-1980 (Black and Latino)
Occupational Inequality compared to Anglos-1980 (Black and Latino)
Employment Growth Rate 1970–1980 (All Persons)
Median Housing Age (All Housing Units)
Housing Inflation Rate/Housing Value Increase 1970–1980 (All Housing Units)

The ethnic enclave model suggests that when immigrants and migrants move to a metropolitan area they segregate themselves due to factors of population and acculturation. As the size of a group grows, the enclave grows and segregation is increased. Population growth is positively correlated with segregation. In addition, the ethnic enclave theory suggests that increased acculturation is negatively correlated with segregation, suggesting that entering the cultural mainstream decreases segregation. Ethnic enclave measures of population apply to both Latinos and Blacks, but acculturation variables apply only to Latinos.

In the Massey and Denton (1989) study, Latino demographic measures of acculturation (Percent Native Born, & Percent Speak English "Well") showed inconsistent results when regressed against (D) scores. Nativity (Percent Native Born) unexpectedly resulted in a positive relationship with segregation and was statistically significant while increase in immigration (Growth Rate of Foreign Born) resulted in the predicted positive relationship but was not statistically significant. Language skill (Percent Speak English "Well") showed an expected negative relationship and was statistically significant. It appears that the acculturation factors have mixed influence over the (D) score and are often counter-intuitive to any theoretical models.

Population factors (Anglo Growth Differential, Percentage of Population, Percentage Suburbanized, Percentage of Latino sub-groups, and Percentage of Black Latinos) also show inconsistent results. Metropolitan areas with a higher percentage of Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans, a static measure of population, had an unexpected negative relationship with (D) scores. This same static measure had a positive relationship with (D) scores for percentage Cuban and Black Hispanic. None of the static percentage measures registered as statistically significant. The population indicator that measured differences in population growth over time compared to Anglos had an unexpected negative relationship with (D) scores.

The relationship between Anglo growth differential and (D) scores was statistically significant for Latinos but not for Blacks. Suburbanization had the expected negative relationship with (D) scores and the relationship was statistically significant for Latinos but not for Blacks. The fact that Black suburbanization did not have a statistically significant relationship in the regression model is very important to the Massey and Denton's contention that suburbanization and integration do not correlate for Blacks.

Socioeconomic status had unexpected results with static measures (Median Family Income) and expected results with measures over time (Employment Growth Rate). Higher median family income had a positive relationship with (D) scores and metropolitan areas had a negative relationship between rate of employment growth and (D) scores. Housing variables (Housing Inflation Rate, Median Age of Housing) reflected expected results but with no statistical significance. Housing inflation rate had a negative relationship with (D) scores. The authors state that housing inflation is an indicator of scarcity of housing and should be negatively related to (D) scores. The median age of housing stock had a positive relationship with (D) scores, suggesting that older metropolitan areas with a higher median age of housing stock had had higher levels of segregation. Occupational dissimilarity of Blacks and Latinos from Anglos had a positive relationship with (D) scores. The authors do not explain what is meant by occupational dissimilarity from Anglos but it is assumed that this indicator has to do with dissimilarity between Blacks and Latinos with Anglos in occupations that have a higher degree of socioeconomic status. Not a single socio-economic or housing variable had a statistically significant relationship with Latino residential segregation. The same was true for Blacks.

Massey and Denton conclude that Latino segregation is positively correlated with lower levels of acculturation and lower measures of socioeconomic status (Massey 1989). The actual results of the regression models developed by Massey and Denton are far from unequivocal in their support of these conclusions. Indeed, two of the four statistically significant relationships revealed counter-intuitive results. These results may be related to the U.S. Census data that was available at the time of the study or it may be related to the limited number and scope of the independent variables used by Massey and Denton.

This critique of Massey and Denton (1987) is centered on how the independent variables were organized. The authors use Latino sub-groups as independent variables. However, to properly study Latino sub-group issues, a Latino sub-group specific model needs to be developed with Latino sub-group independent and dependent variables. Another problem is with the use of general metropolitan area variables as a proxy for racial and

ethnic specific factors. For example, the independent variables: employment growth, median age of housing, and housing inflation rate were measured at the metropolitan level for all persons. Racially and ethnically specific indicators of housing and employment variables would be better measures.

The Anglo Differential, ratio of a racial or ethnic specific variable as a ratio to Anglos, is used to quantify inequality, but it was used on only a select group of variables (population growth and occupation). Methodologically, a measure of inequality needs to be applied to all variables to better understand the nature of residential segregation in a regression model. In addition, trend analysis is important to a sound regression model methodology.

CONCEPTUALIZING THE VARIABLES

This research will begin to develop a theory of Latino segregation through the use of acculturation, demographic and suburbanization variables that relate to the ethnic enclave theory. In addition, this research will attempt to add variables that relate to socio-economic status, occupation and housing to better understand the relationship of inequality to residential segregation. The following is brief synopsis of the theoretical concepts behind the variables selected for this research.

ETHNIC ENCLAVE MEASURES

Traditionally, ethnic enclave indicators have measured the level of acculturation, demographics, and suburbanization. Acculturation measures, including the percentage of foreign-born persons and the percentage of persons not speaking English well in a metropolitan area, are positively correlated with segregation rates (Massey and Denton 1987). The effects of poor English skills and recent immigration are most negative for Latinos and that may explain why Latinos are more likely to live in established ethnic enclaves or to create new ones in central city areas (Logan, Alba, McNulty & Fischer 1996). For purposes of this research, measures of foreign-born status, immigration in the last 10 years and the number of households that speak a language other than English at home were collected for Latinos. A Pearson correlation matrix showed that the variables immigration in the last 10 years and the number of households that speak a language other than English at home had higher degrees of co-linearity with a larger number of variables. Therefore, The variable of foreign-born status is usded as a proxy for measures of language and recent immigration.

The size of an ethnic or racial group in a metropolitan area is positively correlated to segregation. Lower segregation rates are linked to smaller, non-Anglo enclaves, even in an unequal housing market. Segregation rates are lower for metropolitan areas where the non-Anglo population is small (Krivo and Kaufman 1999). This correlation masks the fundamental fabric of segregation because most non-Anglo population clusters are located in a relatively small number of cities. In cities where non-Anglo populations are high, a fundamental shift in attitudes to Anglos will have to occur before desegregation will occur (Krivo and Kaufman 1999). The Krivo and Kaufman concentrate on Blacks in their work but this phenomenon is important to Latinos.

Suburbanization also plays an important role in the ethnic enclave theory. In post-World War II America, suburbanization has been closely related to spatial mobility and segregation. In 1980,

> none of the socio-economic or metropolitan structural variables has a significant effect on the level on Black suburbanization, and no variance can be explained by the model . . . . . Hispanic suburbanization is highly related to socio-economic status" (Massey and Denton 1987, p. 819).

Since the 1980s, suburbanization has increased for all racial and sub-groups but there have been no recent studies on the relationship between increased suburbanization and segregation. In addition, there were no significant studies that compare the difference between White suburbanization rates and suburbanization rates for racial and sub-groups as a measure of inequality. Inequality in suburbanization rates is an important factor in segregation.

Ethnic enclave theory is particularly important to Latinos. Latino immigration is heavily concentrated in the Southwest and a small number of metropolitan areas outside the Southwest. Almost half of all urban Latinos live in just 10 metropolitan areas and 28.6% of all Latinos live in only four (4) metropolitan areas (Los Angeles, New York, Chicago and Miami). An understanding of immigration hubs for Mexicans (Los Angeles, Chicago and Mexican-US border), Puerto Ricans (New York and New England) and Cubans (Miami and Florida) is important in conceptualizing Latino ethnic enclaves and Latino residential segregation. In addition, the historical presence and continued concentration of Mexicans in the Southwest should be considered as important in this study.

For purpose of this study, the following variables will be used to test the ethnic enclave theory: measures of acculturation (percentage

of population foreign-born), measures of demographics (population size and percentage of population), and suburbanization (percentage of metropolitan population living in suburban areas). Data is examined for the year 2000 and longitudinally for the period 1990–2000. Due to the ethnic enclave experiences of Latinos, special attention will be paid to the four immigration hubs of Los-Angeles-Long Beach, CA, New York, NY, Chicago, IL and Miami, FL.

STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY

A good deal of literature suggests that the inequality model does not apply to all Latinos (Massey 1983, Massey and Bitterman 1985, Massey and Denton 1989, Massey and Denton 1993). Massey and Denton conclude that socioeconomic mobility will eventually bring about the spatial assimilation of Mexicans and Cubans but that Puerto Ricans and Latinos- Black will remain outside the mainstream, facing structural barriers to integration. This statement is supported by the fact that Mexicans and Cubans are more segregated from Blacks than from Anglos while Puerto Ricans are more segregated from Anglos than Blacks (Massey and Denton 1981). Evidence of greater segregation from Anglos than from Blacks indicates inequality for Latinos and Latino sub-groups.

A higher degree of economic status is negatively correlated with segregation. The median household income of a racial or ethnic group is a traditional measure of economic status but the ratio of incomes between racial groups and Anglos is a sign of inequality (Rusk 1993). The ability to earn income is affected by education levels. A college degree is increasing necessary in new economy occupations (Sassen 1999). The disparity in income, poverty, and educational attainment rates between racial and ethnic groups and Anglos are measures of economic status and inequality in economic status. Measures of economic status have traditionally been used in residential segregation research, and will be an integral part of this research.

The restructuring of the U.S. economy has had a profound effect on metropolitan areas. The decentralization and globalization of low-skill family supporting manufacturing jobs were important factor in building the African American ghetto (Wilson 1996). Sectoral changes in the metropolitan economy are directly linked to increases in economic segregation in the Midwest and Northeast region which are overwhelmingly non-Anglo (Jargowsky 1997). The increased importance of technology and globalization has created greater inequalities in the U.S. economy and the lower end of the labor queue is increasingly filled with immigrants from foreign

countries (Sassen 1999). Latino immigration to the United States is tied to labor opportunities on the low end of the labor queue (Lamphere, Stepick and Grenier 1994). Structural inequalities in the U.S. economy ensure that Latino immigrants will enter the labor force at the lowest end. Residential integration is tied to the ability to rise in the labor force, obtain a more professional position, and achieve a higher socio-economic status. For Latinos and other immigrant groups, this process may be difficult given economic restructuring and globalization. Economic inequality is tied to the barriers Latinos have to rising out of the low end of the labor queue. This research will use measures of unemployment and professional employment rates, as well as household income, to indicate the extent of economic inequality for Latinos. The disparity between racial and ethnic groups and Anglos will be incorporated into the measures of unemployment and professional employment.

Housing equity issues have emerged as an important influence on residential segregation. The idea of the "American Dream" is fundamentally about building wealth through homeownership. Barriers to homeownership are important in inequality theory (Jackson 1985). There is clear evidence that a lack of homeownership is related to increased segregation for non-Anglos (Flippen 2001). Furthermore, barriers to homeownership hinder family wealth accumulation. There is evidence to suggest that household wealth is negatively correlated with segregation (Freeman 1999). Data involving owner occupancy rates will be used in this study.

The median value of a home is an important housing economic indicator and home values in segregated areas are disproportionately low. Disproportionate housing values make it more difficult for homeowners in segregated areas to accumulate enough equity in their homes to move to suburban areas and gain generational wealth. The confluence of inequalities in homeownership, household wealth, and housing values over time has been linked to segregation and has created a housing "tax" that affects segregated non-Anglo homeowners (Brookings Institute 2001). This research will employ an indicator of housing value to assess barriers to wealth creation due to inequality in housing equity. The disparity between racial and ethnic groups and Anglos will be incorporated into the measures of owner occupancy and housing value.

IMPORTANCE OF GEOGRAPHY

There is evidence that regional differences play a role in the dynamics of residential segregation. Institutionalized racial discrimination is part of the fabric of residential housing patterns in metropolitan areas of the industrial

Midwest and Northeast (Frey and Farley 1994). The Midwest and Northeast are also more affected by deindustrialization and declining employment opportunities for non-Anglo persons (Jargowsky 1997). These structural patterns disproportionately harm Blacks and Puerto Ricans because of their concentrations in "old economy" metropolitan areas.

Conversely, the majority of non-Puerto Rican Latinos reside in areas of the West and Southwest. These metropolitan areas have been less affected by deindustrialization and have fewer structural impediments to employment opportunities (Jargowsky 1997). In addition, metropolitan areas of the West and Southwest have witnessed their largest growth periods after the Civil Rights era and the enactment of Fair Housing legislation. Western and Southwestern cities have less of a historical legacy of racism in housing patterns. There is growing evidence that regional differences play a role in levels of residential segregation with lower levels of segregation relating to metropolitan areas that are newer and less reliant on "old economy" industries.

In general, human geography is an important factor as it relates to the residential segregation of Latinos. Immigration patterns are physically tied to certain metropolitan areas and regions with the United States. The spatial differences in Latino segregation can be better understood through the technology of geographical information systems (GIS). This research will use GIS maps to give broad-based interpretations of spatial patterns relating to Latino and Latino sub-group residential segregation. These maps will be referred to in the study and will be included as maps in at the end of this text.

Overall, this research will use quantitative analysis to test the ethnic enclave model of residential segregation for Latinos and Latino sub-groups. A number of socio-economic and housing variables will be incorporated into this research to conceptualize issues of structural inequality for Latinos and Latino sub-groups. Special attention will be paid to measures of disparity between racial and ethnic groups and Anglos. These disparities will help estimate inequality and to determine structural inequality. Lastly, the use of GIS maps will assist in better understanding the spatial nature of residential segregation.

Chapter Four

Sources of Data and Methodology

Traditionally, residential segregation is measured at the metropolitan level. Residential segregation is measured at the metropolitan level so that central city and suburban housing patterns can be measured. This research uses data for the 331 U.S. Census defined Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA). The geographical definition for metropolitan area is a bit complex. Of the 331 MSAs in this study, 280 have a straightforward definition of MSA that encompasses a central city area and a suburban area. The geographical boundaries are generally measured at the county level and central city areas and suburban areas are measured at the metropolitan level. An example of this is the Atlanta, GA MSA. The Atlanta, GA, MSA is geographical defined by 20 counties that are broken down to the central city of Atlanta and all remaining geography defined as suburbs.

In addition to the 280 regular MSAs, this sample also includes 51 MSAs that make-up 19 CMSAs or Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas. These 19 CMSAs are larger mega-metropolitan areas that contain multiple smaller MSAs. For example, the New York, NY, Northern New Jersey, and Long Island, NY CMSA contains 15 separate MSAs in three different states (New York, New Jersey and Connecticut). The MSAs contained in the 19 CMSAs have the same geographical breakdown given in the example of Atlanta, GA given above. This study will refer to all MSAs and MSAs contain in CMSAs as metropolitan areas.

Data for this research will contain measures for three separate geographies for all 331 MSAs: 1) Whole Metropolitan Area, 2) Central City areas within a MSA, and 3) Suburban areas within a MSA. It should be noted that some MSA boundaries changed between the 1990 U.S. Census and 2000 U.S. Census. This dataset takes this into consideration and

all 1990 data has been geographically adjusted to bring it into line with 2000 U.S. Census geographical boundaries.

Data for this research will be analyzed for five different racial/ethnic categories: Blacks, Latinos and three (3) Latino sub-groups (Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban). Since metropolitan areas with small racial/ethnic populations skew the data, population minimums were set at 5,000 for Latinos and Blacks at the metropolitan level; 2,000 for Latino sub-groups at the metropolitan level; for Latinos and Blacks at the suburban and central city level: and 1,000 for Latino sub-groups at the suburban and central city level.

The dependent variable for this research is the Index of Dissimilarity or the (D) score. The source of data for the dependent variable is the Lewis Mumford Center for Urban and Regional Research. The following formula was used to generate segregation scores at the census tract level.

$$D = \left(\frac{1}{2}\right)\sum\left|\frac{B_i}{B} - \frac{W_i}{W}\right|$$

The example given here is for white/black indices, but the same formula is used for all groups (Latinos, Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans). In most of the analyses, segregation is measured relative to Anglos. A smaller amount will be measured relative to Blacks. For the purposes of this study, (D) scores between Latinos and Anglos will be referred to as Latino/Anglo and unless otherwise noted, Latino segregation refers to Latino/Anglo segregation. All (D) scores at the national or regional level are reported as weighted means. The weighted variable will be the population of the racial or Latino sub-group being compared to Anglos or Blacks. All (D) scores in this research were obtained from the website: http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/data.html.

A series of regression models will be run that predict (D) scores for Blacks, Latinos and Latino sub-groups from an array of independent variables. The independent variables are grouped into three overlapping categories: 1) demographic variables, 2) socio-economic variables, including housing variables and 3) all statistically significant variables from 1) & 2). Models are estimated separately for each racial/ethnic group. Results drawn from the regression models will only use results that are statistically significant. The level of statistically significance for regression models will be *p-scores* <.10, but all *p-scores* between .05 and .10 will be noted.

A measure of inequality has been calculated for suburbanization and all socio-economic variables relative to Anglos. For the purposes of this research work this inequality measure will be referred to as

the Anglo Differential (AD). The AD is a ratio of a specific variable for racial/ethnic minorities compared to Anglos. For example, a metropolitan area with a median household income for Latinos of $30,000, and for Anglos at $40,000, would have a median household income AD of .750 or $30,000/$40,000 The AD will be calculated for variables in 1990 and 2000. Changes in inequality will be measured by subtracting the AD in 2000 from the AD in 1990. For example, if the AD for median household income were .750 in 2000 and .800 in 1990, the number representing change in inequality would be .750-.800 or -.050. The AD and change in AD will measure trends in inequality between Latinos and Anglos, highlighting possible structural issues in Latino residential segregation. In addition, general trend increases between 1990 and 2000 will be calculated as a percentage increase and in some cases (suburbanization percentages) percentage point increases.

Models for Latinos and Blacks will incorporate (D) scores from 1980–2000, and for Latino sub-groups from 1990 and 2000. All of the data used in this research are from the decennial U.S. Census. The dependent variables are measured at the census tract level within the 331 U.S. Census defined metropolitan areas. All other variables are measured at the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) level. For metropolitan areas that have a Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA), only MSA's within the PMSA were used. Independent variables collected for Blacks and Latinos are measured in 1990 and 2000. Due to limitations in U.S. Census metropolitan data, no socio-economic data is available for Latino sub-groups in 1990.

Chapter Five

Extent of Latino Segregation

To properly understand residential segregation of Latinos we need to start with an analysis of the Index of Dissimilarity between Latinos and Anglos (see Chapter III). Remember that the Index of Dissimilarity or (D) score is a single quantitative (univariate) measure that measures the extent to which Latinos are segregated from Anglos.

A complete chart of univariate segregation measures is located in Appendix 2. The weighted mean Latino/Anglo (D) score for the year 2000 was 51.7. Latino/Anglo (D) score ordinal categories (high-moderate-low) reveal that the majority (77.9%) of the 235 metropolitan areas with 5,000 or more Latinos were moderately segregated, 22.1% (33) had a low segregation rate and 8.1% (19) were highly segregated.

Individual metropolitan areas range in Latino/Anglo (D) score from a low of 12 (Reading, CA) to a high of 75 (Lawrence, MA) (See Appendix 3). Regionally, the Northeast had the highest weighted mean Latino/Anglo (D) score (60.8), followed by the Midwest (54.5), the West (50.7), the South (42.9). The spatial distribution of (D) scores shows that highly segregated metropolitan areas have the highest concentration in the Northeast (See Map 1: Latino Segregation in 2000).

Historically, Latino residential segregation from Anglos has been moderate. In 1970 and 1980, the Latino/Anglo D score was 44.4 and 43.4 respectively (Massey and Denton 1987). The data for Massey and Denton's research revealed a pattern of slight decrease in the last two decades. Latino/Anglo (D) scores rose from 51.1 in 1980 to 50.9 in 1990 and 51.7 in 2000. Despite the fact that the analysis of Latino/Anglo (D) score from the historical data only utilized the sixty (60) largest metropolitan areas and was not weighted, it is clear Latino/Anglo segregation has stayed consistent with a pattern of a slight increase.

The number of highly segregated Latino/Anglo metropolitan areas increased from 13 in 1980 to 15 in 1990 and 19 in 2000. The number of Latinos living in highly segregated metropolitan areas also increased. In 1980, 2,534,756 Latinos were living in highly segregated metropolitan areas compared to 6,804,251 in 1990 and 9,282,757 in 2000. The number of Latinos living in a highly segregated metropolitan area increased 266.2% between 1980 and 2000 and a 36.4% increase between 1990–2000.

Latino/Anglo segregation is increasing in the aggregate but not all metropolitan areas had an increase in Latino/Anglo (D) scores. Between 1990 and 2000, 52 (22.0%) metro areas had a decrease in Latino/Anglo (D) scores, 20 (8.5%) remained the same, and 164 (69.5%) increased. Ordinal measures of segregation (high-medium-low) show a tendency towards increasing. Ordinal segregation measures change infrequently because there are only two intervals ((D) scores = 30.0 and 60.0) where point changes amount to an ordinal change (i.e. a decrease from 33.3 to 29.4 or an increase from 57.8 to 61.2). Using these parameters, the overwhelming majority of metropolitan areas (171) did not change an ordinal status between 1980 and 2000, 62 metropolitan areas gained an ordinal status, and 24 metro areas lost an ordinal status. Ordinal increase changes outnumbered decreases at a 2.6 to 1 ratio between 1980–2000. Between 1990 and 2000, 44 metro areas gained an ordinal status, 21 metro areas lost an ordinal status. Ordinal increases outnumbered decreases at a 2.1 to 1 ratio between 1990–2000. Ordinal changes in Latino/Anglo segregation favor increases at the metropolitan level.

Increases in the absolute number of Latinos living in highly segregated metropolitan areas were observed mainly in the largest metropolitan areas. When these individual metropolitan areas are analyzed by the relative size of their Latino populations, the patterns are stronger. This indicates that increases in Latino/Anglo segregation are concentrated in Latino immigrant hub areas. Indeed, the vast majority (86.1%) of highly segregated Latinos in 2000 were concentrated in three metropolitan areas: Los Angeles (4,242,213), New York (2,339,836), and Chicago (1,416,584). Latino immigrant hubs also account for 82.0% of the 2,478,500 increase in highly segregated Latinos from 1990 to 2000.

Changes in (D) scores for Latino/Anglo for individual metropolitan areas vary considerably. The largest (D) score increase between 1990–2000 was Athens, GA (25 pts.), followed by Fort Smith, AR-OK (24 pts.), Nashville, TN (21 points), Greensboro, Winston-Salem, High Point, NC (20 pts) and Green Bay, WI (19 pts.). The largest (D) score decrease was Dutchess County, NY (-8 pts.), Champaign-Urbana, IL (-7 pts.), Miami, FL (-7 pts), Cheyenne, WY (-6 points) and 5 metro areas (-5 pts.). The overall increases in Latino/Anglo segregation is explained by the fact that 32 metropolitan areas

that have increased (D) scores by more than 10 points while no metropolitan area has a (D) scored than decreased by 10 points or more.

The weighted mean change in the Latino/Anglo (D) score increase was 2.5 points for the whole country. The weighted mean change in the Latino/Anglo (D) score for each region increased between 1990–2000. The weighted mean increase in the Latino/Anglo (D) score was highest in the West with a 3.0 point increase. The South had a weighted mean increase in the Latino/Anglo (D) score increase of 2.5 points followed by the Midwest at 1.8 points and the East at 1.1 points (See Map 2: Change in Latino Segregation 1990–2000). It is interesting to note that the regions with the lowest weighted mean Latino/Anglo (D) score in 2000 had the largest Latino/Anglo (D) score increases between 1990–2000.

Between 1990 and 2000, the weighted mean increase in the Latino/Anglo (D) score was 2.5 points with 69.5% of the metropolitan areas showing increased Latino/Anglo segregation. The number of highly segregated metropolitan areas increased from 15 to 19 and the number of Latinos living in highly segregated metropolitan areas increased by 36.4%. In 1980, 19.4% of all metropolitan Latinos were highly segregated from Anglos. In 2000, the percentage of highly segregated Latinos increased to 28.8%. These figures support a strong pattern of Latino/Anglo segregation increase.

While Latino/Anglo segregation is increasing, Latino/Black segregation is decreasing. The weighted mean (D) score for Latino/Black segregation was 54.1 in 1990 and decreased to 49.1 in 2000. This is a 5.0 point decrease or 10.0%. The number of highly segregated Latino/Black metropolitan areas decreased from 31 in 1990 to 17 in 2000. In 2000, there were more highly segregated Latino/Anglo metropolitan areas than highly segregated Latino/Black metropolitan areas. In 2000, there are 5.3 million more Latinos highly segregated from Anglos than Blacks.

Between 1990–2000, Latino segregation underwent a fundamental change. In 1990 Latinos were more segregated from Blacks (54.1) than Anglos (50.9). In 2000, this pattern reversed, Latinos were more segregated from Anglos (51.7) than Blacks (49.1). In 2000, it can be argued that segregation between Blacks and Latinos was less severe than segregation between Latinos and Anglos.

LATINO SEGREGATION COMPARED TO BLACK SEGREGATION

Latino/Anglo segregation is increasing, while Black/Anglo segregation is decreasing. Historical data show that between 1970 and 1980 Black/Anglo segregation decreased from 79.2 to 69.4 (Massey and Denton, 1987). Data

from Massey and Denton's research confirms a trend of decreasing Black/Anglo segregation. Black/Anglo (D) scores have decreased by 4.0 points from 69.0 in 1990 to 65.0 in 2000.

The number of highly segregated Black metropolitan areas has also decreased. In 1980, 70.7% or 159 metropolitan areas were highly segregated. In 1990, 131 or 55.3% of all Black metropolitan areas were highly segregated, and by 2000, 38.7% or 99 metropolitan areas were highly segregated. While the number of highly segregated metropolitan areas decreased by 37.7% between 1990–2000, the Black population living in highly segregated Black/Anglo metropolitan areas actually increased by 10.1%. In 1980, 18,922,535 Blacks lived in highly segregated Black/Anglo metropolitan area, this number increased to 20,893,561 in 2000.

Latino/Anglo segregation continues to be less severe than Black/Anglo segregation, but gaps between Latinos and Blacks are decreasing. In 2000, Blacks still comprised the largest group of persons in highly segregated metropolitan areas (20,893,561). This number increased by 1,971,026 (10.4%) since 1980 and compares with an increase of 6,748,001 Latinos since 1980. Latinos now represent 30% of all non-Whites living in highly segregated metropolitan areas and account for 76.9% of the increase of non-Whites living in highly segregated metropolitan areas between 1980–2000.

Trend analysis comparing Black/Anglo segregation decreases and Latino/Anglo segregation increases can be achieved by examining the gap between the weighted mean (D) scores of the two scores. The gap between Black/Anglo and Latino/Anglo (D) scores decreased from 34.8 points (Black =79.2 and Latino=44.4) in 1970 to 13.3 in 2000 (Black =65.0 and Latino=51.7). The Black/Anglo and Latino/Anglo (D) score gap decreased by 21.5 points (61.8%) between 1970–2000.

Table 1. Non-White Persons Living in Highly Segregated Metropolitan Areas*

	1980	2000	Increase 80–00	% Inc. 80–00
Black	18,922,535	20,893,561	1,971,026	10.40%
Latino	2,534,756	9,282,757	6,748,001	266.22%
	21,457,291	30,176,318	8,719,027	39.80%
% Hispanic	*11.81%*	*30.76%*	*77.39%*	

* Highly segregated is defined as an Index of Dissimilarity of .600+.

Source: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002.

In 2000, Black/Anglo segregation was still more severe than Latino/Anglo segregation but Latino segregation was on the rise while Black segregation was decreasing. Between 1990–2000, Latinos accounted for three-quarters of the absolute increase in the number of persons living in highly segregated metropolitan areas. The gap between Latino/Anglo and Black/Anglo dropped 61.5% in the last thirty years. If the previous ten-year trend continues, Latino (D) scores will surpass Black (D) scores by 2030. Changes in residential segregation indicators for Latinos challenge the notion that segregation is primarily and most seriously a problem experienced by Blacks.

SUBURBAN AND CENTRAL CITY SEGREGATION

There are differences in Latino segregation within metropolitan areas. Latino suburban segregation shows a pattern of increase while the pattern of Latino segregation in central city areas has remained fairly consistent. Latino suburban weighted mean (D) scores for suburban populations over 2,000 Latinos increased by 3.5 points (7.7%) from 45.3 in 1980 to 46.6 in 1990 and 48.8 in 2000. The number of highly segregated suburban areas has also increased from 2 (Naples, FL and Bergen-Passaic, NJ) in 1980, to 1 (Bakersfield, CA) in 1990 and 3 (Bakersfield, CA, Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA and Newark, NJ) in 2000. The number of Latinos in highly segregated Latino suburban areas increased from 99,863 in 1980 to 2,551,195 in 2000. This massive increase in the number of suburban Latinos living in highly segregated areas is in part because the Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA suburban area moved from a medium (D) score of 58 in 1980 to highly segregated (D) score of 62 in 2000. Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA accounts for 2,284,670 (89.6%) of highly segregated suburban Latinos.

Latino segregation in suburban areas at the individual metropolitan level bolsters a pattern of increase in segregation. Between 1980–2000, 28 suburban areas (75.7%) had an increase in (D) scores; no suburban areas had (D) scores that remained the same; and 9 suburban areas (24.3%) decreased. Ordinal measures (high-moderate-low) of suburban segregation show the vast majority of metro areas have not changed their segregation status. Between 1980 and 2000, 9 suburban areas gained an ordinal status; 1 suburban area lost an ordinal status. Between 1990 and 2000, 5 suburban areas gained an ordinal status and no suburban area lost an ordinal status. Latino suburban segregation has increased. Individual, aggregated and ordinal measures all indicated a pattern of increase between 1980–2000 and 1990–2000. Latino suburban patterns

are affected greatly by the increases and concentration of suburban Latinos in Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA metropolitan area.

Patterns of segregation for Latinos in central city areas are mixed. The weighted mean (D) for central city Latinos decreased by 0.6 points (1.1%) from 56.8 in 1980 to 56.3 in 1990 and to 56.2 in 2000. The number of central city areas that are highly segregated also decreased from 10 in 1980 to 8 in 2000. Despite the decrease in the number of highly segregated central city areas, the number of Latinos increased from 2,984,512 in 1980 to 4,494,462 in 1990 and to 4,552,282 in 2000. This was a 52.4% increase between 1980–2000 and a 1.3% increase between 1990–2000. The increase in central city Latino/Anglo segregation between 1980–2000 is primarily due to the large central city increases in the number of Latinos in New York (1,002,075) and Los Angeles (763,581). Latino immigration hubs (New York and Los Angeles) account for 90.7% of all highly segregated central city Latinos.

At the individual central city area level, patterns are also mixed. Between 1980–2000, 126 central city areas (53.0%) had an increase in (D) scores, 12 central city areas (5.0%) had (D) scores that remained the same and 100 central city areas (42.0 %) decreased. Ordinal measures of central city segregation show the majority of metro areas have not changed their segregation status. Between 1980 and 2000, 12 (6.7%) metro areas lost an ordinal status, 50 (21.0%) metro areas gained ordinal status, and 172 (72.3%) stayed the same.

The overall gap between central city (D) scores and suburban (D) scores decreased by 35.7% from a gap of 11.5 points in 1980 (central city=56.8 and suburban=45.3) to a gap of 7.4 points in 2000 (central city=56.2 and suburban=48.8). This decrease is due to moderate increases in suburban segregation (7.7%) and a modest decrease in central city (D) scores (-1.1%). This indicates that Latino suburban segregation is increasing in its importance as a factor in internal metropolitan Latino segregation patterns.

LATINO SEGREGATION CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the Index of Dissimilarity or the rate of residential segregation for Latinos reveals five trends:

1) Latino segregation is generally increasing. In 2000, over 9 million Latinos live in metropolitan areas that are highly segregated. Increases in Latino/Anglo segregation reveals two generally trends. 1. Segregated barrios are growing. Barrios in

Latino immigration hubs such as Los Angeles, New York and Chicago have remained segregated in the last two decades and are increasing in size. This means that many more Latinos live in segregated barrios. 2. A few new metropolitan areas have reached the status of being highly segregated. These are smaller metropolitan areas and are located in the Northeast section of the country.

2) Latino segregation patterns are moving closer to Black segregation patterns. While Latino segregation rates are increasing, Black segregation rates are decreasing. African Americans are more segregated than any other persons in the United States. It is alarming to note that over time Latino segregation patterns are looking more like Blacks not less.

3) Latino suburban segregation is an increasingly important factor in internal metropolitan Latino segregation patterns. This result is disturbing because a healthy pattern of integration should show a decrease of segregation with rising suburbanization not an increase. This result may reveal that hidden in the apparently healthy pattern of suburbanization is an unhealthy trend of Latinos suburbanizing into selected inner-ring suburban communities. These communities look more like central cities than suburbs and have limited real estate value. This pattern can be seen in the massive number of suburban Latinos in Los Angeles that live in communities like East Los Angeles. East L.A. is a suburban on paper only and in reality is a barrio whose history is steeped in the history of racially restrictive covenants and real estate practices.

4) Highly segregated Latinos are concentrated in metropolitan areas with large Latino populations or Latino hubs. Stated above these immigration hubs are growing. Segregated Latino barrios serve the historical purpose of allowing immigrants the opportunity to get a foothold in the ethnic enclave but after decades, it is apparent that these enclaves are becoming "cities within cities" where second and third generation Latinos live outside the mainstream with limited opportunities to get family supporting wages, find a home that gains substantial equity and gives the ability for parents to give their children a better life than they had.

5) Over the last ten years, Latinos have gone from being more segregated from Blacks to being more segregated from Anglos. Again, African American segregation can be seen as the worst in the United States. It is troubling that in the last two decades that Latinos have reached the tipping point where they are farther outside the Anglo mainstream than the African American mainstream.

What do all of these things actually mean? Residentially segregated barrios are becoming larger and more numerous in the United States. The consequence of this trend is that more Latinos are living in conditions outside the economic and cultural mainstream of our country. Historically, these conditions have been disastrous for the African Americans. The maladies associated with residential segregation are growing for Latinos and the social disorder associated with African American segregation could begin to be a problem for barrios within the United States.

These results also beg the question are the residential patterns of Latinos the same for Latino ethnic groups? Do patterns for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans all look the same or do they have unique patterns? These questions warrant further investigation.

Chapter Six

Extent of Latino Sub-Group Segregation

Latino is a term that lumps together people that come from different backgrounds from throughout the Spanish-speaking countries—the Western Hemisphere. This point is more important to Latinos in the United States due to the fact that immigrants from Spanish speaking countries have unique immigration experiences. Indeed, Latinos place a large emphasis on national origin as a basis for their identity and reject fixed categories of race the U.S. Census (Rodriguez 1991, Duany 2002). To approach the subject of residential segregation from a Latino point of view, researchers should consider ethnicity or country of origin.

Very little attention has been paid to the separate experiences of Latino sub-groups in the segregation literature. This research will focus on the patterns of residential segregation for three major Latino sub-groups in the United States: Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Cubans. A complete chart of univariate segregation measures is located in Appendix 2: Residential Segregation (D) Score 1970–2000.

LATINO SUB-GROUP: METROPOLITAN LEVEL

To determine the extent to which Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans are segregated from Anglos, we will look to the Index of Dissimilarity. Of the three Latino sub-groups, Puerto Ricans are the most segregated. At the metropolitan level, the weighted mean Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) score for 2000 was 57.3; this is considered a moderate level of segregation. Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) score ordinal (high-moderate-low) categories reveal that of the majority (69.8%) of the 133 metropolitan areas with 2,000 or more Puerto Ricans are moderately segregated, 23.3% were highly segregated and 7.0% had a low segregation rate. In 2000, Puerto Ricans had the highest (D) score of the three Latino sub-groups.

At the individual metropolitan level, Puerto Rican (D) scores range from a high of 77 (Lawrence MA-NH) to a low (D) score of 24 (Gainesville, FL). Regionally, Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) scores were the highest in the Northeast (64.0) followed by the Midwest (63.1), the South (41.0) and the West (37.4) (See Map 3: Puerto Rican Segregation in 2000). The spatial distribution of Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) scores shows a concentration in the Northeast, 83% of the highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas are located in the Northeast. Spatially, there are no highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas outside of the Northeast and Midwest.

Puerto Rican segregation rates have declined by 7.8% from a D score of 62.2 in 1990. Declines in Puerto Rican segregation are supported by historical studies that calculated (D) scores for Puerto Ricans at 66.5 in 1980 (Massey and Denton 1989). In 2000, 30 metropolitan areas were highly segregated representing 1,989,700 Puerto Ricans, or 55.0%, of all Puerto Ricans living in metropolitan areas. This is a decrease from 1990 when 34 metropolitan areas were highly segregated representing 1,765,600 Puerto Ricans, or 66.8% of all Puerto Ricans.

Decreases in Puerto Rican segregation are showed by changes in Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) scores of individual metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000. The vast majority of metropolitan areas (72.9%) decreased their (D) scores, 11.6% stayed the same and 16.5% increased (D) scores. In addition, 11 (6.9%) metropolitan areas lost ordinal status between 1990 and 2000. Highly segregated Puerto Ricans were concentrated in New York and Chicago in 2000 (59.4%) and 1990 (52.3%).

The weighted mean change in the Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) score between 1990–2000 was -2.3 points. The largest weighted mean change in the Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) score was in the Midwest with a–6.7 points change. The East had a weighted mean change in the Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) score of–2.7 points, followed by the West at–1.5 points and the South with a weighted mean increase in the Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) score of 1.0 points. Midwestern metropolitan areas had the largest decrease in Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) scores while the other regions have stayed fairly constant.

Mexicans are the second most segregated Latino sub-group from Anglos with a weighted mean (D) score of 53.2 in 2000. The majority (79.0%) of the 235 metropolitan areas with more than 2,000 Mexicans were moderately segregated from Anglos in 2000, 10.9% had a low level of segregation rate from Anglos and 10.1% have a high rate of segregation from Anglos.

At the individual metropolitan area, Mexican/Anglo (D) scores range from a high of 75 (Bergen-Passaic, NJ) to a low of 10 (Redding, CA).

Regionally, Mexican/Anglo (D) scores were the highest in the Northeast (62.5) followed by the Midwest (56.8), the West (52.0) and the South (52.6). The spatial distribution of highly segregated Mexican/Anglo metropolitan areas shows a concentration in the Northeast region and in Florida (South) (See Map 4: Mexican Segregation in 2000).

Mexican/Anglo segregation has increased 1.6 points (3.1%) from 51.6 in 1990. Historical data indicates a similar (D) score of 51.9 in 1980 (Massey and Denton 1989). It should be noted that Mexicans were the only Latino sub-group to see an increase in (D) scores between 1990 and 2000. The number of highly segregated Mexican/Anglo metropolitan areas was 24 in 2000, containing 5,579,300 Mexicans, or 27.3% of all Mexicans living in metropolitan areas. In 1990, the number of highly segregated Mexican/Anglo metropolitan areas was 14, containing 3,371,800 Mexicans, or 28.0% of all Mexicans living in a metropolitan area.

Increases in Mexican segregation are further shown by changes in (D) scores of individual metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000. The vast majority of metropolitan areas (69.3%) increased their (D) scores, 5.5% stayed the same and 25.2% decreased (D) scores. In addition, 6 (5.8%) metropolitan areas lost ordinal status and 16 (9.4%) gained ordinal status. Highly segregated Mexicans were overwhelmingly concentrated (83.2%) in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York in 2000.

The weighted mean change in the Mexican/Anglo (D) score between 1990–2000 was 3.3 points. Regionally, the largest weighted mean change in the Mexican/Anglo (D) score was in the South with a 7.6 points change. The East had a weighted mean change in the Mexican/Anglo (D) score of 7.3 points, followed by the Midwest at 4.6 points and the West at 2.7 points. Southern and Northeastern metropolitan areas had the largest increases in Mexican/Anglo segregated rates while the Midwest and West had smaller increases.

Cubans are the least segregated of the three Latino sub-group in the sample. In 2000, the Cuban/Anglo weighted mean (D) score was 50.4. The vast majority (87.0%) of the 52 metropolitan areas with more than 2,000 Cubans are moderately segregated, 8.7% have a low level of segregation and 4.3% have a high rate of segregation.

At the individual metropolitan area, Cuban/Anglo (D) scores range from a high of 66 (Jersey City, NJ) to a low of 19 (Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, FL MSA). Regionally, Cuban/Anglo (D) scores were the highest in the South (51.8), followed by the Northeast (50.7), the Midwest (47.6) and the West (39.4) (See Map 5: Cuban Segregation in 2000). The spatial distribution of Cuban (D) scores is difficult to interpret because of the low

number of metropolitan areas with more than 2,000 Cubans and the small number of highly segregated Cuban/Anglo metropolitan areas.

Cuban/Anglo segregation has decreased by 5.7 points (11.3%) from 56.1 in 1990. Historical data indicate a trend of a larger decrease with a Cuban/Anglo (D) score of 57.7 in 1980 (Massey and Denton 1989). In 2000, two metropolitan areas were highly segregated: Louisville, KY and Jersey City, NJ. These two metropolitan areas contained only 38,100 Cubans or 3.0% of all Cubans living in America. In 1990, four metropolitan areas were highly segregated for Cubans and these four metropolitan areas contained 667,200 persons or 63.6% of all Cubans. The large reduction in highly segregated Cubans is due to the Miami metropolitan area decreasing (D) from 60 in 1990 to 54 in 2000.

Decreases in Cuban/Anglo segregation are showed by changes in (D) scores of individual metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000. The vast majority of metropolitan areas (78.3%) decreased their (D) scores, 10.9% stayed the same and 10.9% increased (D) scores. In addition, 13.0% metropolitan areas lost ordinal status and 2.2% gained ordinal status between 1990 and 2000. Highly segregated Cubans had no concentrations in Latino immigrant hub metropolitan areas.

The weighted mean change in the Cuban/Anglo (D) score between 1990–2000 was -4.5 points for all metropolitan areas. The largest weighted mean change in the Cuban/Anglo (D) score was in the Midwest with a–8.4 points change. The South had a weighted mean change in the Cuban/Anglo (D) score of–4.5 points, followed by the East at–4.2 points and the West with a weighted mean change in the Cuban/Anglo (D) score with–3.8 points. All four regions had a decrease in the weighted mean change in Cuban/Anglo (D) scores.

LATINO SUB-GROUP SEGREGATION WITH BLACKS

The segregation of Latino sub-groups from Blacks (i.e. Mexican/Black (D) scores) is an important indicator of status in the urban setting. A Latino sub-group that is more segregated from Anglos than Blacks is probably more excluded from mainstream American society (Massey 1981).

Cuban/Black segregation is the highest between any two racial and ethnic groups in this study. In 1990, the weighted mean Cuban/Black (D) score was 77.0; this was a 4.1 point reduction (-5.3%) to a Cuban/Black (D) score of 72.9 in 2000. Cubans have continued to have a higher segregation rate from Blacks than Anglos. The gap between Cuban/Black and Cuban/Anglo (D) scores was 20.9 points in 1990 to 22.5 points in 2000, an increase of 1.6 points or 2.1%. These results mean that Cuban

communities are highly segregated from Blacks and are more integrated with Anglos.

The weighted mean Puerto Rican/Black (D) score in 1990 was 56.3; by 2000 this score had decreased by 5.8 points (10.3%) to 50.5. Puerto Rican/Black segregation continues to be lower than Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. The gap between Puerto Ricans/Blacks and Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) scores was –5.9 points in 1990 and has fallen to –6.8 points in 2000. These indicate that Puerto Rican segregation rates are declining for both Blacks and Anglos but that Puerto Rican/Black segregation rates are lower with Anglos showering a greater integration with Blacks.

Like the other Latino sub-groups, Mexican/Black segregation decreased from a Mexican/Black (D) score of 53.4 in 1990 to 49.3 in 2000, a 4.1 point (7.7%) decrease. In 1990, Mexican/Black segregation (53.4) was higher than Mexican/Anglo segregation (51.6). By 2000 this phenomenon reversed when Mexican/Anglo segregation (53.2) was greater than Mexican/Black segregation (49.3). The gap between Mexican/Blacks and Mexican/Anglo (D) scores was 1.8 points in 1990 and increased to -3.9 points. Mexican/Black segregation rates are the lowest of all Latino sub-groups.

Analysis of Latino sub-group/Black (D) scores indicates a consistent pattern of higher segregation from Blacks for Cubans and a higher segregation from Anglos for Puerto Ricans for both 1990 and 2000. Mexican patterns of segregation have shifted from higher segregation from Blacks in 1990 to higher segregation from Anglos in 2000. These patterns generally show an improvement for Cubans and Puerto Ricans and a decline for Mexicans. One could argue the trend of Mexicans becoming more segregated from Anglos than Blacks may suggest that Mexicans are becoming more outside the mainstream. A disturbing trend when compared to the improvements being made by Cubans and Puerto Ricans.

LATINO SUB-GROUPS: SUBURBAN AND CENTRAL CITY

Suburban Latino sub-group segregation patterns were slightly different than patterns in central city areas and metropolitan areas. Mexicans have the highest suburban segregation weighted mean (D) score from Anglos, 50.6 in 2000. This was an increase of 3.2 points (6.8%) from a (D) score of 47.4. Cuban/Anglo suburban segregation was second highest with a weighted mean (D) score of 49.4 in 2000. Cuban suburban segregation decreased by 5.3 points (9.7%) from a (D) score of 54.7 in 1990. The least segregated Latino sub-group was Puerto Rican/Anglo with a weighted mean (D) score of 42.8 in 2000. This was a 1.6-point (5.4%) decrease from a (D) score of 44.4 in 1990.

Central City Latino sub-group segregation patterns were generally higher than suburban rates. Puerto Ricans had the highest central city segregation weighted mean (D) score, 55.0 in 2000. This was a decrease of 8.8 points (13.8%) from a (D) score of 63.8in 1990. Mexican central city segregation decreased from a weighted mean (D) score of 53.1 in 2000, 0.2 points (0.4%) to 52.9 in 1990. Mexican central city segregation stayed virtually the same between 1990–2000. Cuban central city segregation decreased by 2.6 points (4.9%); from a weighted mean (D) score of 51.0 in 2000, from 53.6 in 1990.

Examination of the gap between central city and suburban segregation rates yields interesting results. Puerto Ricans have the largest gap between central city (D) scores (55.0) and suburban (D) scores (42.8) with 12.2 points. Puerto Rican central city/suburban gap far exceeds the gap for Mexicans (2.5 points), and for Cubans (1.6 points). Puerto Ricans have the highest central city segregation rates and lowest suburban segregation rates compared to Mexicans and Cubans who each have segregation rates that are roughly the same in central city and suburban areas.

The internal segregation patterns of Latino sub-groups show some interesting differences. Higher rates of Latino sub-group segregation usually correspond to metropolitan areas that have suburbs or suburban municipalities that are known as Mexican, Puerto Rican or Cuban suburbs. Historically, these Latino sub-group suburbs have been formed two ways: 1) The annexation of a community (usually Mexican) into a growing or existing metropolitan area. This is the case of East Los Angeles which was a Mexican community before it was defined as a "suburb" of Los Angeles; or 2) A previously Anglo suburb that fits the previously described as ethnic succession. This is the case of Hialeah, FL a suburb of Miami. These explanations along with the traditional aspects of housing and lending discrimination explain much of the suburbanization situation for Latino sub-groups. This explanation deals with suburbanization within the geography of the same metropolitan area. This may not be the case for Puerto Ricans.

In general, at first glance it may appear that Puerto Ricans become segregated in central city areas and integrate when moving to the suburbs. This pattern mirrors the European immigrant ethnic enclave model. Upon further examination, these results may be misleading due to the geographical location of Puerto Ricans. The example can be seen in New York City and the Northeast in general. Unlike the other Latino metropolitan hubs of Miami (suburbanization rate of 80%) and Los Angeles (suburbanization rate of 54%), the metropolitan area of New York

(suburbanization rate of 9%) has a comparatively low suburbanization rates. Metropolitan areas in the Northeast where Puerto Ricans are more concentrated have much lower suburbanization rates. This is due to the fact that internal metropolitan geography consists of a very large central city area with a wide range of housing stock and a smaller suburban area where housing tended to be expensive.

These facts and the data presented above support the hypothesis that Puerto Rican suburbanization tends to bifurcate on economic lines. Many Puerto Ricans in the Northeast have not been able to leave ethnic enclaves and stay segregated in traditional communities. Others who have been able to advance economically have chosen to leave their metropolitan areas rather than suburbanizing in their current metropolitan area. Many of these Puerto Ricans are choosing to move to metropolitan areas in areas like Florida or are returning to Puerto Rico.

COMPARING LATINO AND LATINO SUB-GROUP SEGREGATION

Traditionally, Latinos have been studied as an umbrella ethnic group of Spanish-speaking people much like a racial group. In the 2000 U.S. Census, users can disaggregate the umbrella group Latinos into ethnic categories relating to country of origin or Latino sub-group. As discussed above, each of these groups has a unique immigration pattern and a unique segregation pattern. The disaggregation of Latinos will allow for a truer picture of Latino sub-group segregation patterns. By comparing segregation statistics for the umbrella group Latino to the statistics for Latinos by their national origin it is possible to gauge the statistical consequences of using the umbrella term of Latino and determine which Latino sub-groups are most segregated.

In 2000, there were 9,282,757 Latinos living in highly segregated metropolitan areas. However, looking at the tally of relevant ethnic groups, we find 10,777,983 Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Central Americans and South Americans living in highly segregated metropolitan area. This figure does not count Other Latinos. In other words, aggregating Latino sub-groups into an umbrella category of Latino reduces the actual number of highly segregated persons by 16.1%. This number would be even higher but it was not possible to calculate the number of Other Latinos living in highly segregated metropolitan areas.

These statistics show that Mexicans comprise the largest Latino subgroup but 27.9% of all Mexicans live in highly segregated metropolitan areas. This compares to Puerto Ricans who have 1,925,502 persons

Table 2. Disaggregated Latino Sub-Groups Living in Highly Segregated Metropolitan Areas in 2000

	Population 2000	Highly Segregated 2000	% of Ethnicity Highly Segregated
Mexican	20,546,212	5,729,535	**27.9%**
Puerto Rican	3,497,410	1,925,502	**55.1%**
Cuban	1,277,146	38,100	**3.0%**
Dominican	1,105,800	942,867	**85.3%**
Central American	2,747,672	1,653,603	**60.2%**
South American	2,113,199	481,500	**22.8%**
Other	886,461	N.A.	
TOTAL	32,173,900	10,771,107	**33.5%**
Latino	32,173,900	9,282,757	**28.9%**

Source: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002.

living in highly segregated metropolitan areas 55.1% of all Puerto Ricans. Cubans, on the other hand, have only 38,100 persons living in highly segregated metropolitan areas or 3.0% or all Cubans.

Although outside the scope of this study, it is interesting to note that Dominicans and Central Americans, groups sometime referred to as New Latinos because of their recent immigration waves, are the most affected Latino sub-groups as it relates to residential segregation. It should be noted that Dominican segregation data are somewhat suspect due to the fact that half of all Dominicans live in New York City. These new Latino immigrants appear to be settling into established highly segregated barrios in metropolitan areas. This type of barrio development is different because New Latinos are not the primary Latino sub-group in the vast majority of these metropolitan areas.

A comparison of Latino/Anglo segregation and Latino sub-group/Anglo segregation shows that lumping Latino sub-groups into a single monolithic group masks the difference in the overall level of segregation

of Latino sub-groups. In addition, the extent to which different Latino sub-groups are highly segregated differs tremendously.

LATINO SUB-GROUP CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the segregation statistics for Latino sub-groups reveals five trends:

1) **Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation is greater than the other Latino sub-groups.** Historically, Puerto Rican segregation has been greater than that of Mexicans and Cubans and that trend remained in 2000. In addition, over half of all Puerto Ricans live in highly segregated metropolitan areas, which is far greater than Mexicans (27.9%) and Cubans (3.0%). High degrees of Puerto Rican segregation may be due to the geographic location of Puerto Rican communities in the Northeast and the extent to which mobile Puerto Ricans choose to leave the Northeast rather than suburbanizing in the Northeastern metropolitan areas. Despite being the most segregated Latino sub-group, Puerto Rican segregation is decreasing on all levels.

2) **Mexican/Anglo segregation patterns are increasing.** This trend is unique because Puerto Rican/Anglo and Cuban/Anglo segregation patterns are decreasing. Mexican suburban segregation is the fastest growing of all Latino sub-groups segregation. Mexican suburban segregation is closely tied to population increases in the suburbs of Los Angeles. Mexican suburbanization in Los Angeles does not mirror the ethnic enclave model because the Mexican suburbs of Los Angeles are not associated with middle class status, rather, they are historically segregated communities that fit the structural inequality model and mirror central city barrios.

3) **Latino sub-group segregation reveals geographical trends.** The metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest have higher segregation rates than the South and West. Regional segregation rates were high (a (D) score over 60.0) for Puerto Ricans in the Midwest (63.1) and Northeast (64.0) and for Mexicans in the Northeast (62.5). Conversely, the lowest Latino sub-group regional score was for Puerto Ricans in the West (37.4). This gives positive evidence to the hypothesis that Puerto Ricans migrating from the Northeast are not moving to segregated barrios. It also suggests residential

segregation of Latinos is linked to the internal urban geography of industrial metropolitan areas of the Midwest and Northeast or that residential segregation is not linked to human factors but the built environment of certain metropolitan areas.

4) **Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are more integrated with Blacks than Anglos.** Historically, Cubans have a higher segregation rate from Blacks and Puerto Ricans have a higher segregation rate from Anglos. Over the last two censual periods, Mexicans have shifted from higher segregation from Blacks to higher segregation from Anglos. This reflects the increase of Mexican segregation patterns and provides more evidence that Mexican communities are not integrating into the United States mainstream but rather are outside the mainstream.

5) Disaggregating Latinos into Latino sub-groups shows that the umbrella category of Latino masks group difference in segregation of people from Spanish speaking ethnic groups.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE CONCLUSIONS

In 2000, Latino/Anglo segregation became more severe than Latino/Black segregation. Latinos experienced the vast majority of increases in persons living in highly segregated metropolitan areas between 1980–2000. The gap between Latino segregation rates and Black segregation rates was reduced by 69.1% between 1970–2000. In 2000, Latinos became more segregated from Anglos than from Blacks. This is a fundamental change from 1990 when Latinos were more segregated from Blacks than from Anglos. All of these facts challenge the notion that residential segregation is primarily a Black problem and that Latino segregation is closely associated with SEC European segregation model of ethnic enclave development and integration over time rather than the segregation model of structural inequality.

Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation is still the highest among the three Latino sub-groups but is decreasing at all levels. Yet, despite the fact that Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation is decreasing, more than half of all Puerto Ricans still live in highly segregated metropolitan areas. Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation is 12.2 points higher in the central city than the suburbs and Puerto Rican (D) scores are higher for Anglos (57.3) than for Blacks (50.5). Highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas continue to be concentrated in the original ethnic enclaves along

the Eastern seaboard but are non-existent outside of the Midwest and Northeast.

This spatial pattern exists despite the fact that rapidly growing Puerto Rican metropolitan areas show decreasing rates of Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. Thirty-two (32) metropolitan areas doubled their Puerto Rican population between 1990–2000. These 32 metropolitan areas had an average (D) score decrease of 1.3 points between 1990–2000. These high growth Puerto Rican metropolitan areas are highly concentrated (81.3%) in the West and South, especially in Florida. It appears that new Puerto Rican migration is not increasing Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation; rather it is due to the internal migration of more affluent Puerto Ricans to new metropolitan areas. This may suggest a bifurcation of Puerto Ricans between those who are stuck in the original segregated ethnic enclaves with barriers to suburbanization and those who are able to migrate to new, more integrated, metropolitan areas.

Increases in Latino segregation appear to be closely tied to increases in Mexican segregation. Mexicans are the only Latino sub-group in this study with an increase in (D) scores between 1990–2000. Increases in Mexican/Anglo (D) scores represented a fundamental change in the nature of Mexican segregation. In 2000, Mexicans were more segregated from Anglos (53.2) than from Blacks (49.3). The largest Mexican/Anglo (D) score increases were in suburban areas. Mexican segregation was heavily concentrated in immigration hubs but concentrations of segregated Mexican metropolitan areas were beginning to appear in the Northeast and in the Florida. In addition, Mexican suburban segregation patterns were beginning to mirror Mexican central city segregation patterns.

The current patterns of Mexican suburban segregation are important. Increases in the number of suburbanized Mexicans are concentrated in a small number of metropolitan areas. Indeed, the top ten increases in the number of suburbanized Mexicans account for 52.2% of all Mexican suburban increases. These ten Mexican suburban metropolitan areas have a weighted mean Mexican/Anglo suburban (D) score of 54.8. This is 4.2 points higher than the weighted mean (D) for all metropolitan areas for Mexican suburbs. This suggests the development of suburban Mexican ethnic enclave hubs that may mirror the Mexican immigrant hub concept. Mexican suburban segregation is beginning to taken on a flavor of ethnic residential succession rather than integration.

Cuban/Anglo segregation is declining at all levels. Miami, the main immigration hub for Cubans, has had one of the largest decreases in Latino segregation (7 points) between 1990 and 2000. The number of highly segregated Cubans accounted for less than 5% of all Cubans in the United

States in 2000. The Cuban segregation experience is beginning to resemble a traditional ethnic enclave with overall segregation decreases and a large decrease in segregation in the main immigration hub of Miami.

Internal metropolitan patterns of Latino segregation also challenge the ethnic enclave theory of central city enclave development and suburban integration. While central city Latino segregation appears to have leveled off, Latino suburban segregation, especially Mexican, is increasing faster than any other group. There is strong evidence that Latino suburban segregation may be tied to the residential succession of older inner-ring suburbs. Individual metropolitan area studies, especially Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA, New York, NY, Chicago, IL and Miami, FL at the census tract or municipal level, would be appropriate to test the inner ring suburban residential succession hypothesis.

Highly segregated Latinos are overwhelmingly concentrated in the historical Latino immigration hubs of Los-Angeles-Long Beach, CA, Chicago, IL and New York, NY. These areas have been highly segregated for a generation and are creating Latino neighborhoods of isolation from Anglos and American mainstream society. Due to the fact that Latino immigration is continuing at a record pace, it is difficult to estimate whether these communities will integrate over time or become Latino islands that remain out of the American mainstream.

Chapter Seven

Causes of Latino Segregation

We have already analyzed the extent to which Latinos and Latino subgroups suffer from residential segregation. The next question is what causes this segregation. The task of proving what causes residential segregation is extremely difficult and from a statistical perspective is nearly impossible. Causation is always a difficult task in social sciences. Instead of attempting to show cause and effect, the use of statistical regression models help shed light on which types of demographic, socio-economic and housing variables most influence the level of statistical segregation. This approach is an appropriate first step in any statistical gathering exercise and will give a better understanding of the relationship between residential segregation and various statistical variables.

A series of regression models was run to better understand the relationships between the dependent variables of Latino segregation and changes in Latino segregation between 1990–2000 and independent demographic and socio-economic variables. The findings will be reported in a three-step process for each dependent variable; first, the results of a regression model using demographic variables, second, the results of a regression model using socio-economic variables, including housing variables, and third, a new regression model using the significant results from the demographic regression model and the socio-economic regression model. The level of statistically significance for each regression model was determined to be a *p-score* <.10, but all *p-scores* between .05 and .10 will be noted. Only the statistically significant variables from the demographic and socio-economic models will be reported in each section but the complete results for every regression model are reported in Appendix 4–7.

CAUSES OF LATINO/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Demographic data are available for population, population growth, suburbanization, and growth in suburbanization and immigration. This analysis will examine seven (7) demographic variables from the 2000 Census and six (6) demographic variables measuring changes from the 1990 to 2000 Census:

Number of Persons in 2000 (NUMBER)

Percent of Persons in 2000 (PERCENT)

Number of Persons Suburbanized in 2000 (SUBURBAN NUMBER)

Percent of Persons Suburbanized in 2000 (SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE)

Number of Persons Foreign Born in 2000 (FOREIGN BORN NUMBER)

Percent of Persons Foreign Born in 2000 (FOREIGN BORN PERCENTAGE)

Ratio of Race/Ethnic Group Suburbanization to Anglo Suburbanization in 2000 (SUBURBAN AD)

Change in the Number of Persons 1990–2000 (NUMBER CHANGE)

Percentage Growth of Persons 1990–2000 (PERCENTAGE CHANGE)

Percentage of Total Population Growth Attributed to a Race/Ethnic Group 1990–2000 (TOTAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE)

Change in Number of Race/Ethnic Group Suburbanized 1990–2000 (SUBURBAN NUMBER CHANGE)

Percentage Point Change of Persons Suburbanized 1990–2000 (SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE POINT)

Increase in Latino-Anglo Suburbanization Ratio 1990–2000 (SUBURBAN AD CHANGE)

A regression model was created using nine demographic variables of the thirteen variables. The four variables NUMBER CHANGE, SUBURBAN NUMBER, FOREIGN BORN NUMBER, and SUBURBAN NUMBER CHANGE were eliminated because they were co-linear (see explanation of co-linearity in the Methodology section). The regression model shows that demographic variables are highly predictive of residential segregation of Latinos in 2000. Seven of the nine demographic variables showed statistically significant relationship with Latino segregation rates in 2000:

Causes of Latino/Anglo Segregation in Metropolitan Areas in 2000 (N=235)

Table 3. Regression Model: Demographic Variables and Latino/Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

SUBURBAN AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.730)
FOREIGN BORN PERCENTAGE in 2000	(Std Coef =.352)
NUMBER in 2000	(Std Coef =.259)
SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE in 2000	(Std Coef =.182)
SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE POINT 1990–2000	(Std Coef =.153)
SUBURBAN AD CHANGE 1990–2000	(Std Coef =-.139)
PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1990–2000	(Std Coef =.110)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.542 P=.000

The results from this regression model suggest that inequality in Latino suburbanization rates (SUBURBAN AD) is an important demographic variable in predicting Latino segregation. Latino segregation is lower in metropolitan areas where Latinos are found in the suburbs at similar rates as Anglos. An ordinal analysis of Latino segregation shows that in metropolitan areas with low Latino/Anglo (D) scores, the mean ratio of Latino suburbanization rates to Anglo suburbanization rates is .840. In metropolitan areas with high Latino/Anglo (D) scores, the mean ratio is .393.

The link between inequality in suburbanization and higher Latino/Anglo segregation is bolstered by the fact that increases in suburbanization inequality (SUBURBANIZATION AD CHANGE) are predictive of higher residential segregation of Latinos and Anglos. In metropolitan areas with low Latino/Anglo segregation, inequality in suburbanization decreased by .026 from a mean ratio of .814 in 1990 to a mean ratio of .840 in 2000. In metropolitan areas with high Latino/Anglo (D) scores, inequality in suburbanization increased from a mean ratio of .422 in 1990 to a mean ratio of .393 in 2000 an increase of .029.

This regression model also highlights the importance of Latino immigration hubs in predicting the higher Latino/Anglo residential segregation. The importance of the variables FOREIGN BORN and PERCENTAGE CHANGE suggests a link between increases in immigration

and migration and higher residential segregation of Latinos and Anglos. In addition, the variable NUMBER supports the claim that a large number of Latinos in one metropolitan area, Latino immigration hubs, is related to higher Latino/Anglo segregation rates.

Lastly, the variables SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE and SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE POINT suggest that higher suburbanization rates and increasing suburbanization rates are related to Latino/Anglo segregation. These results appear counterintuitive to the previous mentioned link between inequality in suburbanization and higher Latino/Anglo residential segregation. These results may indicate that highly segregated Latino metropolitan areas are suburbanizing faster and at higher rates compared to Latinos in lower segregated metropolitan areas but that the suburbanization of Latinos in highly segregated Latino metropolitan areas is unequal to the suburbanization rates of Anglos.

CAUSES OF LATINO/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

The regression model for socio-economic variables includes 28 measures. These 28 measures come from 7 different indicators that were calculated for each racial and ethnic group:

Median Household Income (Household Income)

Percent of Persons 25+ with a College Diploma (College Graduation)

Percentage of Employed Persons 16+ Employed in a Professional Occupation (Professional)

Percentage of All Persons under the Poverty Rate (Poverty Rate)

Percentage of Persons in the Labor Force but Unemployed (Unemployment Rate)

Percentage of Householders who Own Their Home (Owner Occupancy)

Median Dollar Value of an Owner Occupied (Home Value)

The seven indicators were used to create four different measures: 1) the indicator in 2000; 2) the Anglo Differential for the indicator in 2000; 3) the percentage change of the indicator 1990–2000; and 4) the percentage change in the Anglo-Differential 1990–2000. The following is an example of the four (4) different measures calculated for the indicator Household Income for Latinos:

Median Household Income -2000
$30,000

Anglo Differential (AD)—2000 (Latino=$30,000; Anglo=$40,000) ($30,000/$40,000) .750

Percentage Increase—1990 to 2000 (1990=$20,000; 2000=$30,000) .333

Change in AD—1990 to 2000 (1990=.800; 2000=.750) (.750-.800) -.050

Note: When the Change in AD is a negative number it reflects an increase in inequality and when the Change in AD is a positive number, it reflects a decrease in inequality. This relationship is reversed for the measures of UNEMPLOYMENT and POVERTY.

The regression model for Latino/Anglo (D) score in 2000 used 18 of the 28 variables. The remaining 10 variables were eliminated because they were co-linear. The regression model shows that socio-economic variables are highly predictive of residential segregation of Latinos in 2000. This regression model yielded four variables that were statistically significant and three variables with a p-score between .05 and .1:

Causes of Latino/Anglo Segregation in Metropolitan Areas in 2000 (N=227)

Table 4. Regression Model: Socio-Economic Variables and Latino/Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.613)
COLLEGE GRADUATION in 2000	(Std Coef = -.301)
VALUE AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.220)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 2000	(Std Coef =.131)
UNEMPLOYMENT in 2000 *p=.070*	(Std Coef =-.102)
UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASED AD 1990–2000 *p=.061*	(Std Coef =.098)
PROFESSIONAL in 2000 *p=.062*	(Std Coef =.083)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.720 P=.000

This regression model suggests that inequality in household income (HOUSEHOLD AD) is an important socio-economic predictor of higher rates of Latino/Anglo segregation. As Latino incomes approach those of Anglos, segregation between the two groups declines. The correlation between household income and segregation can be seen in the ordinal analysis of Latino/Anglo segregation and inequality in household incomes. In metropolitan areas with low Latino/Anglo segregation, the mean ratio of Latino Household Income to Anglo Household Income is .902. In metropolitan areas with high Latino/Anglo segregation, the mean ratio is .613. In other words, in metropolitan areas that are highly segregated, Latinos earn 61.3 cents for every dollar earned by Anglos.

Greater inequality in housing values (VALUE AD) and higher unemployment rates (UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASE AD) are also linked with higher rates of Latino/Anglo segregation. This regression model also shows that metropolitan areas that have higher college graduation rates (COLLEGE GRADUATION) experience lower Latino/Anglo segregation. Lower levels of human capital, inequality in financial capital, and increasing inequality in unemployment are linked with higher Latino/Anglo segregation.

Lastly, the variables HOUSEHOLD INCOME, PROFESSIONAL, and UNEMPLOYMENT suggest that higher median Latino household income, more Latinos professionally employed, and lower Latino unemployment are predictive of higher Latino/Anglo segregation. These relationships appear to contradict the link between inequality in financial capital and human capital and higher rates of Latino segregation. An explanation might be that highly segregated Latino metropolitan areas are more conducive to an ethnic enclave business climate that incubates business opportunities and jobs for Latinos but that the ethnic enclave business climate may not produce integration opportunities for Latinos.

CAUSES OF LATINO/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

A regression model was constructed by using all of the significant variables from the previous demographic and socio-economic regression models. This regression model shows that demographic and socio-economic variables are highly predictive of Latino/Anglo (D) scores in 2000. This regression model yielded nine (9) variables that were statistically significant:

Causes of Latino/Anglo Segregation in Metropolitan Areas in 2000 (N=235)

Table 5. Regression Model: Demographic & Socio-Economic Variables and Latino/Anglo Segregation
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.582),
SUBURBANIZATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef =-.300),
SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE in 2000	(Std Coef = .232),
FOREIGN BORN PERCENTAGE in 2000	(Std Coef = .213),
PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1990–2000	(Std Coef =.175),
COLLEGE GRADUATION in 2000	(Std Coef =-.165),
VALUE AD in 2000	(Std Coef =-.152),
PROFESSIONAL in 2000	(Std Coef = .092),
SUBURBANIZATION—INCREASE in AD—1990–2000	(Std Coef = -.082),

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.795 P=.000

This regression model shows that greater inequality in household incomes (HOUSEHOLD AD) and suburbanization rates (SUBURBANIZATION AD) are important predictors of higher Latino/Anglo segregation rates. The demographic variables of larger percent foreign-born (FOREIGN BORN PERCENTAGE), higher suburbanization rates (SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE), larger percentage change in the Latino population (PERCENTAGE CHANGE), and increasing inequality in suburbanization (SUBURBANIZATION AD CHANGE) are also important predictors of higher Latino/Anglo segregation rates. The socio-economic variables of greater inequality in housing values (VALUE AD), lower college graduation rates (COLLEGE GARDUATION) and higher percent of Latinos professionally employed (PROFESSIONAL) are also linked to higher Latino/Anglo segregation rates but have less statistical significance.

This Latino regression model provides some evidence that issues of ethnic enclave development are important to Latino segregation. The

percentage of foreign-born Latinos is a segregating factor for Latinos. Proportional increases in the Latino population from immigration and migration are also causing higher rates of Latino/Anglo segregation. Factors related to Latino mobility and immigration are causing higher rates of Latino/Anglo segregation

There is evidence that Latino immigration hubs are producing better socio-economic outcomes for Latinos compared to Latinos outside of the Latino immigration hubs. Higher suburbanization rates are linked to higher Latino/Anglo segregation rates. In addition, higher proportions of Latino professionals are also correlated with higher Latino/Anglo segregation rates. It appears that the immigration experience is segregating Latinos into highly segregated ethnic enclaves. The ethnic enclave provides more economic opportunities and suburbanization opportunities for Latinos inside highly segregated Latino metropolitan areas and for Latinos in metropolitan areas with lower Latino/Anglo segregation. Suburban Latino segregation rates have shown that these suburbanization opportunities do not provide integration opportunities but are producing ethnic enclaves in suburbs. This challenges the traditional ethnic enclave theory.

This regression model also provides evidence that inequality is correlated with Latino/Anglo segregation. Despite the fact that Latino enclaves are providing economic opportunity compared to Latinos in lower segregated metropolitan areas, these economic opportunities are unequal to that experienced by Anglos. Inequality in household income is the most influential variable in the regression model. This provides evidence that income inequality causes Latino/Anglo segregation. In metropolitan areas where Anglos have more financial opportunities than Latinos, Latino/Anglo segregation is higher.

This regression also provides evidence that a college education, a classic generational goal for immigrants, is linked to integration but that measures of labor force participation are not. Unemployment measures showed no significant results in the final regression model. This suggests employment without a college education may not ensure integration for Latinos. In fact, metropolitan areas with economies that rely heavily on manufacturing and blue-collar employment may be structural impediments to Latino integration. This concept is displayed by Map 1: Changes in Latino Segregation 1990–2000. Spatially, highly segregated Latino metropolitan are concentrated in the manufacturing regions of the Northeast and Midwest

In addition, inequality and increasing inequality in suburbanization cause Latino/Anglo segregation. Barriers to suburban housing markets have a segregating effect on Latinos. It is difficult to tell whether acculturation will reduce these inequalities but there is some evidence of structural inequality.

A link can be made between inequality in housing value (VALUE AD) and segregation. Highly segregated Latino communities produce unequal housing equity (Brookings Institute 2001). When Latino housing values produce limited housing equity, more expensive suburban housing markets will be less accessible despite acculturation. The link between increasing inequality in suburbanization (SUBURBANIZATION INCREASE AD) and Latino segregation is further evidence of the structural problem of unequal housing equity creating barriers to suburban housing market access.

CAUSES OF LATINO/ANGLO SEGREGATION CHANGE 1990–2000: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

This series of regression models will use the same methodology as the previous series. The same nine demographic variables were regressed against changes in Latino/Anglo (D) scores between 1990–2000. The regression model shows that demographic variables are highly predictive of changes in residential segregation of Latinos between 1990–2000. Only the statistically significant variables from the demographic model will be reported but the complete results for every regression model are reported in Appendix 4–5. Four demographic variables had a statistically significant relationship with changes in Latino/Anglo (D) scores:

Causes of Latino/Anglo Segregation Increases 1990–2000 (N=235)

Table 6. Regression Model-Demographic Variables and Latino/Anglo Segregation Increases 1990–2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1990–2000	(Std Coef = -.629)
PERCENTAGE in 2000	(Std Coef =-.229)
NUMBER in 2000	(Std Coef =.167)
SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE POINT 1990–2000	(Std Coef =-.129)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.510 P=.000

The results from this regression model suggest that metropolitan areas with large Latino population growth experienced larger increases in Latino/Anglo segregation. The demographic variable PERCENTAGE CHANGE indicates the importance of proportional change in the Latino population in predicting increases in Latino segregation. Indeed, metropolitan areas with the lowest

third of Latino/Anglo (D) score increases had a 70% mean increase of Latinos between 1990–2000. This compares to a mean increase of 218% for metropolitan areas with the highest third increase in Latino (D) scores. The importance of population growth in predicting increases in Latino segregation can also be seen in the statistical significance of the NUMBER variable. Obviously, a metropolitan area with a larger increase in Latinos will mean a higher number of Latinos.

Metropolitan areas where Latinos represent a lower percentage of the total population (PERCENTAGE) and where the suburbanization rates for Latinos are declining over time (SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE POINT) have experienced the largest increases in Latino/Anglo segregation. The regression model for demographic variables and increases in Latino/Anglo (D) scores suggest that the largest increases in Latino segregation are occurring in metropolitan areas where Latinos are beginning to form ethnic enclaves and that these enclaves are forming in central city areas. Due to the fact that the variables for foreign-born are not significant, this increase may be a second-generation Latino phenomenon. This trend is especially relevant to the emerging Latino enclaves in the South (See Map 2 Change in Latino/Anglo (D) scores 1990–2000).

CAUSES OF LATINO/ANGLO SEGREGATION INCREASE 1990–2000: SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

The same 18 socio-economic variables were regressed against changes in Latino/Anglo (D) scores between 1990–2000. The regression model shows that socio-economic variables are highly predictive of changes in residential segregation of Latinos between 1990–2000. This regression model yielded ten variables that were statistically significant and one variable with a *p score* between .05 and .1:

Causes of Latino/Anglo Segregation Changes 1990–2000 (N=227)

Table 7. Regression Model-Socio-Economic Variables and Latino/Anglo Segregation Increases 1990–2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

OWNER OCCUPANCY—INCREASE in AD—1990–2000	(Std Coef =-.357)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = .260)
VALUE -PERCENTAGE INCREASE—1990–2000	(Std Coef = -.242)

HOUSEHOLD INCOME—INCREASE in AD—1990–2000	(Std Coef = -.227)
COLLEGE GRADUATION-PERCENTAGE INCREASE-1990–2000	(Std Coef = -.205)
OWNER OCCUPANCY in 2000	(Std Coef = -.181)
VALUE—INCREASE in AD—1990–2000	(Std Coef = -.242)
VALUE AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.169)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 2000	(Std Coef = .164)
COLLEGE GRADUATION in 2000	(Std Coef =-.142)
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE in 2000 *p=.094*	(Std Coef =-.117)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.573 P=.000

This regression model has a large number of statistically significant indicators. Of the eleven (11) variables, five variables are measures that measure Latino inequality, two are measures of changes in Latino capital between 1990–2000 and four are static variables of financial and human capital in 2000. All eleven of these variables appear to have relatively similar strength in predicting changing Latino/Anglo segregation.

The general pattern appears to be that metropolitan areas with inequality (VALUE AD) and increasing inequality (OWNER OCCUPANCY INCREASE AD, HOUSEHOLD INCOME INCREASE AD, VALUE INCREASE AD) are causing higher increases in Latino/Anglo segregation. Metropolitan areas where barriers to equality are making the gap between Anglo financial capital and Latino financial capital larger are also increasing Latino/Anglo segregation.

In addition, metropolitan areas with lower housing and human capital (VALUE and COLLEGE GRADUATION) are linked with increasing Latino/Anglo segregation. Overall, these results may suggest a link between the lower level of human and housing capital and increases in Latino/Anglo segregation.

The results for three variables were in an unexpected direction. There is a connection between higher income (INCOME) and lower unemployment (UNEMPLOYMENT) with increases in Latino/Anglo segregation. These counterintuitive results may be related to the nature of employment and economic opportunities offered in newly emerging ethnic business enclaves.

The highly segregated ethnic enclave appears to offer economic benefits to Latinos compared to Latinos in other metropolitan areas but these benefits are not keeping pace with increases in Anglo economic benefits. In addition, income inequality (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD) has a positive relationship with increased Latino segregation. No explanation can be offered for this relationship.

Newly emerging Latino ethnic enclaves are causing higher increases in Latino segregation. These enclaves offer Latinos economic opportunities that are better than metropolitan areas without a Latino ethnic enclave but these economic opportunities are unequal compared to those of Anglos. Indeed, the emerging ethnic enclave is increasing inequality in financial capital, especially housing capital and housing equity. These inequalities may be tied to the status of Latinos who are moving into the enclave and the opportunity structures available to Latinos in emerging enclaves. This may indicate that Latinos are taking a secondary status in the metropolitan areas where emerging Latino enclaves are forming.

CAUSES OF LATINO/ANGLO SEGREGATION CHANGES 1990–2000: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

A regression model was constructed by using all of the significant variables from the previous demographic and socio-economic regression models. This regression model shows that demographic and socio-economic variables are highly predictive of increases in Latino/Anglo (D) scores 1990–2000. This regression model yielded ten (10) variables that were statistically significant:

Causes of Latino/Anglo Segregation Increases 1990–2000 (N=227)

Table 8. Regression Model-Demographic & Socio-Economic Variables and Latino/Anglo Segregation Increases 1990–2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1990–2000	(Std Coef = .410)
OWNER OCCUPANCY—INCREASE in AD—1990–2000	(Std Coef =-.275)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = .172)

COLLEGE GRADUATION-PERCENTAGE INCREASE-1990–2000	(Std Coef = -.162)
OWNER OCCUPANCY in 2000	(Std Coef =-.151)
VALUE -PERCENTAGE INCREASE—1990–2000	(Std Coef =.140)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME—INCREASE in AD—1990–2000	(Std Coef =-.135)
VALUE—INCREASE in AD—1990–2000	(Std Coef =-.133)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 2000	(Std Coef =.131)
VALUE AD in 2000	(Std Coef =-.128)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.691 P=.000

This regression model suggests that population growth (PERCENTAGE CHANGE) increases Latino/Anglo segregation. The remaining statistically significant variables are all socio-economic and stress a connection to housing (5 variables) and financial capital (3 variables). The other socio-economic variable suggests a link between decreasing college graduation rates (COLLEGE GRADUATION CHANGE) and increasing Latino/Anglo segregation.

Overall, the regression model suggests that immigration and migration of Latinos is increasing residential segregation of Latinos and Anglos. These Latinos are moving to areas that have more economic opportunity (HOUSEHOLD INCOME) and less inequality in the current job market (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD) but the employment offered to them is yielding greater inequality in household income (HOUSEHOLD INCOME CHANGE AD). These results suggest that emerging Latino ethnic enclaves offer an economic "pull" factor for immigrants and migrants and that the ethnic enclave offers Latinos more economic benefits than moving to metropolitan areas without an ethnic enclave. The problem is that Latinos in emerging ethnic enclaves are filling an economic niche that appears to be unequal compared to Anglos, suggesting a secondary status in the labor market.

Increases in Latino/Anglo (D) scores are also associated with changes in the housing market. Increasing Latino/Anglo segregation is linked with increased inequality in housing values (VALUE CHANGE AD) and owner occupancy (OWNER OCCUPANCY CHANGE AD). Relative to Latinos in other metropolitan areas, Latinos moving to emerging ethnic enclaves have less home ownership (OWNER OCCUPANCY) and more inequality

in housing value (VALUE AD). Housing values appear to be increasing in segregating metropolitan areas faster than other metropolitan areas (VALUE CHANGE) but are increasing slower than Anglos (VALUE CHANGE AD). There appears to be a relationship with greater housing inequality and increasing segregation. This may mean that metropolitan areas where Latinos are moving into older rental neighborhoods that have limited housing value are more at risk for increasing Latino/Anglo segregation. This phenomenon limits the ability for Latinos to obtain enough housing equity to move out of the segregated enclave and produces a cyclical effect that severely limits housing equity and residential mobility. Stifled housing equity seriously limits wealth creation which fuels generational progress and the eventual integration that generational progress brings.

From the results of this regression model, it is difficult to state unequivocally that Latinos are facing structural inequality but it is obvious that there is a link between the structural components of housing equity and segregation increases of Latinos and Anglos. There is also a link between the degree of human capital, financial inequality and the possible secondary financial status of Latinos with increases in Latino/Anglo segregation. Economic restructuring has created integration barriers for low-skill workers (Sassen 1998). Immigrants with lower degrees of human capital are filling a secondary economic niche that limits occupational mobility which, combined with limited housing equity potential, creates barriers to residential integration.

LATINO AND BLACK-MULTI VARIATE ANALYSIS

The same six regression models that were performed for Latinos were performed for Blacks. The results of Appendix #4 Demographic and Socio-Economic Variables and Black/Anglo segregation in 2000 will be compared to Appendix #4 Demographic and Socio-Economic Variables and Latino/Anglo segregation in 2000. Overall, both regression models were highly predictive of segregation (Latinos: Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =. 795, P=.000 and Blacks: Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.749, P=.000). This may suggest that demographic and socio-economic variables, as a whole, have similar predictive value for segregation with Anglos. The strength of individual demographic and socio-economic variables had a few notable similarities.

The variable with the largest amount of influence on higher segregation for Latinos and Blacks was greater inequality in household income with Anglos (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD). The relative strength of this variable was similar in the Latino/Anglo regression model (Std Coef. = -.582) and in the Black/Anglo regression model (Std Coef. = -.422). Greater inequality in housing value (VALUE AD) was statistically significant in both regression models:

Latinos (Std Coef. = -.152) and Blacks (Std Coef. = -.222), as well as the level of college graduation (COLLEGE GRADUATION) in metropolitan areas that are highly segregated from Anglos: Latinos (Std Coef. = -.165) and Blacks (Std Coef. = -.231). These results suggest that inequality with Anglos and a college education are important integration factors for both Latinos and Blacks with Anglos.

Inequality in suburbanization (SUBURBANIZATION AD) and the rate of suburbanization (PERCENT SUBURBAN) were not statistically significant variables for Blacks. These results support statements made by Massey and Denton—that Black suburbanization does not influence Black/Anglo segregation at the metropolitan area level. There were also some differences in relationship between inequality in unemployment (UNEMPLOYMENT AD and UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASE AD) and segregation. Unemployment inequality was an important factor for Blacks (Std Coef. = -.284), and increases in inequality (Std Coef. = -.065). but were not statistically significant for Latinos. This may indicate that barriers to the employment market are a factor in Black/Anglo segregation but are not a factor for Latino/Anglo segregation.

The second regression model, comparing changes in segregation for Latino/Anglo and changes in segregation for Black/Anglo between 1990–2000, showed differences in the predictive value of demographic and socio-economic variables. The Latino/Anglo model was highly predictive (Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.688, P=.000) while the Black/Anglo model showed relatively weak predictive value (Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.256, P=.000). These results may suggest that changes in Black/Anglo segregation are occurring due to factors that are not demographic or socio-economic in nature, or that changes in Latino segregation are tied to immigration and migration, factors that are nominal in the Black segregation experience.

It is interesting to note that not one variable gave statistically significant results in both the Latino model and the Black model. Only four total variables were used in the regression model Appendix #4 (Demographic and Socio-economic variables and increases of Black/Anglo segregation rates 1990–2000) and three were statistically significant. The most important variable was the percentage of Blacks (PERCENTAGE-Std Coef. = .344). This suggests that Black/Anglo segregation is increasing in metropolitan areas with the highest percentage of Blacks. Another interesting pattern is the correlation between increasing housing values and decreasing Black/Anglo segregation or, in other words, metropolitan areas with the highest increases in housing values are integrating faster. One result appears to be counterintuitive. There is evidence that increasing inequality in the poverty rate (POVERTY INCREASE AD) is correlated with decreasing Black segregation.

Comparing the Black/Anglo segregation regression model to the Latino/Anglo segregation regression models, four main points can be made. 1) demographic and socio-economic variables are strong predictors of segregation for both Latino/Anglo and Black/Anglo; 2) income equality correlates with integration for both Black/Anglo and Latino/Anglo. This is the single most important factor in predicting segregation for both groups. 3) inequality in housing is important to both Black/Anglo segregation and Latino/Anglo segregation; 4) high rates of college education foster integration for both Latino/Anglo and Black/Anglo. These results challenge the theoretical assumption that Black/Anglo segregation is fundamentally different that Latino/Anglo segregation.

There are differences when comparing changes in segregation between 1990–2000 for Latino/Anglo and Black/Anglo. Demographic and socio-economic indicators are important in predicting changes in Latino/Anglo segregation but are less important in predicting changes in Black/Anglo segregation. Massey and Denton (1987) have suggested that structural inequalities attributed to race may account for the lack of predictive ability of demographic and socio-economic variables on high levels of Black/Anglo segregation. If true, this research may reach the same conclusion but with different results due to the fact that Black/Anglo segregation is declining. This is not to suggest that race is not a factor in racial segregation, it may only mean that civil rights legislation my have impacted changes in Black/Anglo segregation rates over the last generation.

Chapter Eight

Causes of Latino Sub-Group Segregation

This section will compare and contrast the segregation regression models for three Latino sub-groups: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. The same universe of variables used for the Latino/Anglo regression models will be used for this series of regression models, except for variables relating to increases between 1990–2000 and AD increases between 1990–2000 for socio-economic variables. The U.S. Census does not publish a useable dataset for 1990 socio-economic variables for Latino sub-groups. This makes a trend analysis of socio-economic variables impossible for Latino sub-groups.

The 3-table methodology used in the Latino multivariate section of this research will be implemented for the Latino sub-groups. Again, this results section will be drawn from variables that have significance; the complete results for every regression model are reported in Appendix 6 & 7.

CAUSES OF PUERTO RICAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

For each Latino sub group, all demographic variables were given a co-linear test and all co-linear variables were eliminated. The remaining variables were used in the demographic regression model. The overall results of the demographic regression model showed that demographic factors were most predictive for Puerto Ricans followed by Mexicans, and Cubans. The demographic regression model for Puerto Ricans yielded three variables of statistical significance.

Causes of Puerto Rican/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=133)

Table 9. Regression Model-Demographic Variables and Puerto Rican/ Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

SUBURBANIZATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.566)
NUMBER in 2000	(Std Coef = .320)
SUBURBANIZATION INCREASE AD in 2000	(Std Coef = .112)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.634 P=.000

The demographic variable with the strongest link with higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation is greater inequality in suburbanization rates (SUBURBANIZED AD). The relationship between Puerto Rican suburban inequality and higher Puerto Rican residential segregation can be further emphasized by ordinal (D) score data. In low segregated Puerto Rican/Anglo metropolitan areas, the Anglo Differential for suburbanization is .795. In highly segregated Puerto Rican/Anglo metropolitan areas, the suburban Anglo Differential is .309. The relative strength of this variable indicates how important inequality in suburbanization rates is in predicting Puerto Rican segregation.

A second variable of statistical significance is the absolute number of Puerto Ricans in a metropolitan area (NUMBER). Puerto Rican segregation is higher in metropolitan areas where there are larger numbers of Puerto Ricans. The positive relationship between these two variables suggests that larger Puerto Rican ethnic enclaves have higher rates of Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation.

The last statistically significant variable, increasing inequality in suburbanization rates (SUBURBANIZED INCREASE AD), reveals some unexpected results. The positive relationship between decreasing suburban inequality and high Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation suggests that suburban inequality for Puerto Ricans may be decreasing in metropolitan areas with higher Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) scores. This unexpected relationship may indicate that barriers to suburbanization faced by Puerto Ricans are decreasing in highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas.

CAUSES OF MEXICAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

The demographic regression model for Mexicans yielded three variables of statistical significance and three variables with a p-score between .05 and .10:

Causes of Mexican/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=235)

Table 10. Regression Model-Demographic Variables and Mexican/Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

FOREIGN BORN PERCENTAGE in 2000	(Std Coef = .670)
SUBURBANIZATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.340)
NUMBER in 2000	(Std Coef = .260)
PERCENT SUBURBANIZED in 2000 *p=.062*,	(Std Coef =.149)
PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1990–2000 *p=.070*,	(Std Coef =.-.117)
TOTAL PERCENTAGE GROWTH 1990–2000 *p=.081*,	(Std Coef =.081)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.553 P=.000

In the demographic regression model for Mexicans, the percentage of Mexicans born in a foreign country (FOREIGN BORN PERCENTAGE) was the variable with the strongest relationship to Mexican/Anglo segregation. The correlation between immigration and Mexican/Anglo segregation is bolstered by ordinal level (D) score data. In metropolitan areas with low Mexican/Anglo segregation rates, the mean percentage of foreign-born Mexicans is 19.1%. This compares to metropolitan areas with high Mexican/Anglo segregation rates, where the mean percentage of foreign-born Mexicans is 54.2%. These results show that the percentage of Mexicans who are foreign born causes higher rates of Mexican/Anglo segregation. In addition, metropolitan areas in which Mexicans account

for a greater percentage of population growth (TOTAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE) are linked to a higher Mexican/Anglo segregation rate.

Two other demographic variables, inequality in suburbanization rates (SUBURBANIZATION AD) and the total population (NUMBER), have a positive relationship with higher rates of Mexican/Anglo segregation. The demographic results suggest that Mexican segregation is correlated with immigrant hubs and that highly segregated Mexican immigrant hubs have Mexican suburbanization rates that are below the suburbanization rates for Anglos.

The relationship between higher Mexican suburbanization rates (PERCENT SUBURBANIZED) and higher Mexican/Anglo segregation suggests that highly segregated Mexican enclaves have higher suburbanization rates. Oddly, there is a link between the percentage increase of Mexicans (PERCENTAGE CHANGE) in a metropolitan area and decreased Mexican/Anglo segregation. This appears to be entirely counterintuitive and there appears to be no real explanation for this relationship.

CAUSES OF CUBAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

The demographic regression model for Cubans reveals no variables with statistical significance and one variable with a p-score in the .05 to .10 range:

Causes of Cuban/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=52)

Table 11. Regression Model-Demographic Variables and Cuban/Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

NUMBER in 2000	(Std Coef = .288), p=.097

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.239 P=.005

This regression model reveals that the number of Cubans (NUMBER) is the only variable to have a significant relationship with higher Cuban/Anglo segregation. A higher amount of Cubans in a metropolitan area causes higher Cuban/Anglo segregation rates. The lack of statistically significant variables, combined with a relatively lower adjusted squared multiple R, may indicate the general lack of correlation of demographic variables and Cuban/Anglo segregation. It should be noted that only 52 metropolitan areas met the 2,000 Cuban threshold.

COMPARISON OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND LATINO SUB-GROUP SEGREGATION

A comparison of demographic variables and segregation between Latino sub-groups shows some similarities and some differences. For Cubans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, a larger number of persons (NUMBER) is a predictor of higher segregation with Anglos. The positive relationship between larger population and higher segregation is a classic indicator of the ethnic enclave theory and supports the concept that Latino sub-group segregation is concentrated in immigration and migration hubs. The population variable (NUMBER) or immigration hub variable is the only significant variable for Cubans.

The other variables relevent to the ethnic enclave theory are related to population growth (PERCENTAGE INCREASE and TOTAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE) Population growth appears to be important for higher Mexican/Anglo segregation but has no relationship for Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. This indicates that migration and immigration mobility are creating higher segregation rates for Mexicans but not for Puerto Ricans. For Mexicans, the percentage of persons who are foreign born is the most important demographic aspect and suggests a link to immigration. This variable is of no significance to Puerto Ricans because Puerto Ricans are American citizens.

Both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans show that inequality in suburbanization rates cause segregation with Anglos. This relationship is the most predictive demographic variable in both the Mexican/Anglo demographic regression model and the Puerto Rican/Anglo regression model. Suburbanization inequality was not a significant predictive variable for Cuban/Anglo segregation. A further comparison in the relationship between suburbanization and segregation shows differences between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. For Mexicans, there is a positive relationship between higher suburbanization rates and Mexican/Anglo segregation rates. Puerto Ricans have a positive relationship with decreasing suburban inequality and higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation rates. For Mexicans, this means that highly segregated metropolitan areas do not have significant barriers to suburbanization but that Mexican suburbanization rates lag behind Anglo suburbanization rates. For Puerto Ricans, this means that highly segregated Puerto Rican/Anglo metropolitan areas with larger suburban inequality are seeing reductions in that inequality.

CAUSES OF PUERTO RICAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

For each Latino sub group, all socio-economic variables were given a co-linear test and all co-linear variables were eliminated. The remaining

variables were used for the socio-economic regression model for each of the Latino sub-groups. The overall results for each of the socio-economic regression models showed that socio-economic factors were most predictive for Puerto Ricans, followed by Cubans and Mexicans. Again, this results section will be drawn from variables that have significance; the complete results for every regression model are reported in Table 6–7.

For Puerto Ricans, three individual socio-economic variables gave statistically significant results and one variable had a p-score between .05 and .10.

Causes of Puerto Rican/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=100)

Table 12. Regression Model-Socio-Economic Variables and Puerto Rican/ Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.651)
VALUE in 2000	(Std Coef = -.226)
COLLEGE GRADUATION in 2000	(Std Coef = -.210)
POVERTY AD in 2000	(Std Coef = .122) *p=.081*

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.685 P=.000

The socio-economic variable relationship with the largest magnitude in the Puerto Rican/Anglo socio-economic regression model is greater inequality in household income (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD) and higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. The importance of income inequality for Puerto Ricans is bolstered by ordinal level (D) score data. In highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas, Puerto Rican households earn only 47.1% of what Anglo households earn. In metropolitan areas with a low Puerto Rican segregation rate, Puerto Ricans households earn 81.2% of Anglo households. The relative strength of HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in the socio-economic regression model (Std Coef = -.651) stresses the overall importance of income equity for Puerto Rican/Anglo integration. In addition, there is evidence that inequality in the poverty rate (POVERTY AD) is also a factor in higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. Greater inequality in financial capital is a powerful predictor of higher Puerto/Anglo segregation rates.

Lower college graduation (COLLEGE GRADUATION) rates and lower housing values (VALUE) are linked to higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation rates. These variables show that relative to all Puerto Rican

metropolitan areas, highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas have lower degrees of human capital and a lower degree of housing value.

CAUSES OF MEXICAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

For Mexicans, five individual socio-economic variables gave statistically significant results and one variable had a p-score between .05 and .10:

Causes of Mexican/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=212)

Table 13. Regression Model-Socio-Economic Variables and Mexican/Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

VALUE in 2000	(Std Coef = -.326)
OWNER OCCUPANCY AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.322)
COLLEGE GRADUATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.286)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.271)
VALUE AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.227)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 2000 *p=.059*	(Std Coef = .228)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.465 P=.001

A number of socio-economic variables appear to be correlated with higher degrees of Mexican segregation. Overall, there appears to be an overall pattern linking inequality in housing with higher Mexican/Anglo segregation rates. Inequality in homeownership (OWNER OCCUPANCY AD) and housing values (VALUE AD) are correlated with higher rates of Mexican segregation. In highly segregated Mexican metropolitan areas, the Anglo Differential for homeownership was .473 and the Anglo Differential for housing value was .700. This compares to an Anglo Differential for homeownership of .651 and an Anglo Differential in housing value of .833 in metropolitan areas with low rates of Mexican segregation. Mexicans appear to have a competitive disadvantage in housing equity where rates of Mexican/Anglo segregation are highest. Inequality in housing for highly segregated Mexican metropolitan areas is not limited to Anglos but there is evidence that there is a difference in

housing values between Mexican metropolitan areas. Highly segregated Mexican/Anglo metropolitan areas have lower housing values (VALUE) when compared to metropolitan areas with low Mexican/Anglo segregation rates.

Inequality between Mexican metropolitan areas is also evidenced in the correlation between college graduation rates (COLLEGE GRADUATION) and higher Mexican/Anglo (D) scores. Highly segregated Mexican/Anglo metropolitan areas have a less college-educated population than metropolitan areas with low Mexican/Anglo segregation rates.

Greater inequality in household income (HOUSEHOLD AD) is also correlated with higher Mexican/Anglo segregation rates. In highly segregated Mexican/Anglo metropolitan areas, Mexican households earn only 68.1% of what Anglo households earn. In metropolitan areas with a low Mexican/Anglo segregation rate, Mexicans households earn 81.2% of Anglo households.

CAUSES OF CUBAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

For Cubans, one individual socio-economic variable gave statistically significant results and one variable had a p-score between .05 and .10.

Causes of Cuban/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=30)

Table 14. Regression Model-Socio-Economic Variables and Cuban/Anglo Segregation in 2000
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

COLLEGE GRADUATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.858)
VALUE AD in 2000 *p=.054*	(Std Coef = .365)
Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.550 P=.000	

The most predictive variable in the Cuban socio-economic regression model is the inequality in college graduation rates (COLLEGE AD) and its relationship with higher Cuban/Anglo segregation rates. The relationship between lower college graduation rates and increased Cuban segregation can be seen in ordinal (D) score data. In highly segregated Cuban/Anglo metropolitan areas, the Anglo Differential in college graduation rates was .507. In Cuban metropolitan areas with a low Cuban/

Anglo segregation rate, the Anglo Differential in college graduation rates .902. In Cuban metropolitan areas where college graduation rates are closer to Anglos, Cubans have lower Cuban/Anglo segregation rates. There is also a correlation between inequality in housing values and lower Cuban/Anglo segregation. This relationship appears to be counterintuitive and no explanation can be offered to why less inequality in housing value (VALUE AD) is positively related to higher Cuban/Anglo segregation rates.

COMPARISON OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND LATINO SUB-GROUP SEGREGATION

No single socio-economic variable had a significant relationship with every Latino sub-group but there are some general trends. Greater inequalities in financial capital (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD) have a segregating effect with Anglos for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans but not for Cubans. The effects of financial capital inequalities are more relevant for Puerto Ricans due to a relationship between poverty inequality (POVERTY AD) and higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation rates.

Measures of human capital reveal the importance of college graduation as a tool for integration. Inequality in college graduation rates (COLLEGE GRADUATION AD) is important for Mexicans and Cubans. When college graduation rates approach those of Anglos, barriers to integration are reduced for Mexicans and Cubans, especially Cubans. For Puerto Ricans, highly segregated Puerto Rican/Anglo metropolitan areas have lower college graduation rates than metropolitan areas with lower Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation.

The housing market is also an important force in segregating Mexicans and Puerto Ricans from Anglos. Factors of inequality in the housing market do not appear to have a segregating influence for Cubans. Both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have lower housing values (VALUE) in metropolitan areas where they are highly segregated with Anglos compared to metropolitan areas where Anglo segregation rates are lower. This means that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have less housing equity potential in highly segregated metropolitan areas than they do in less segregated metropolitan areas. Greater inequality in housing values and owner occupancy rates (VALUE AD and OWNER OCCUPANCY AD) are also causing higher rates of segregation in Mexican metropolitan areas. The housing market for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans may be causing a cyclical effect where a lack of equity in the housing market

is reinforcing residential segregation and higher rates of segregation are limiting housing equity. This phenomenon seems more acute for Mexicans than Puerto Ricans.

CAUSES OF PUERTO RICAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

A regression model was constructed from all of the statistically significant variables in the demographic regression model and the socio-economic regression model. The overall results of this regression model showed that demographic and socio-economic factors were most predictive for Puerto Ricans, followed by Mexicans and Cubans. Again, this results section will be drawn from variables that have significance; the complete results for every regression model are reported in Appendices 6–7.

For Puerto Ricans, six individual demographic and socio-economic variables gave statistically significant results and one variable had a p-score between .05 and .10.

Causes of Puerto Rican/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=100)

Table 15. Regression Model: Demographic & Socio-Economic Variables and Puerto Rican/Anglo Segregation
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.293)
SUBURBANIZATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.293)
NUMBER in 2000	(Std Coef = .277)
COLLEGE GRADUATION in 2000	(Std Coef = -.142)
POVERTY AD in 2000	(Std Coef = .125)
VALUE in 2000	(Std Coef = -.118)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.759 P=.000

Although no single variable stands out as having a greater relative importance, the most important factor in the Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation experience is inequality with Anglos. Half of the six statistically significant variables are measures of inequality (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD, SUBURBANIZATION AD, and POVERTY AD). Highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas are also associated with lower rates of college education and lower housing values (COLLEGE EDUCATION

and VALUE) compared to Puerto Rican metropolitan areas with lower rates of segregation. In addition, the size of the Puerto Rican population (NUMBER) in a metropolitan area causes higher Puerto Rican segregation rates.

These results suggest that Puerto Ricans in highly segregated metropolitan areas are at a competitive disadvantage compared to their Anglo counterparts. This inequality cannot be attributed to the lack of human and financial capital of migrants because measures of population change and population growth variables have no correlation with Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation rates. Inequality in highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas appears to be associated with the opportunity structures available to Puerto Ricans residents living in highly segregated metropolitan area, not to the level of human and financial capital of Puerto Ricans moving into the metropolitan area.

Highly segregated Puerto Rican enclaves suffer inequality compared to Anglos within their own metropolitan area and they also suffer inequality compared to other Puerto Rican enclaves. Highly segregated Puerto Rican enclaves have lower college graduation rates (COLLEGE GRADUATION) and lower housing value (VALUE) compared to lower segregated Puerto Rican enclaves. This may suggest that higher segregation rates are due to limits in the opportunity structures of Puerto Ricans living in highly segregated metropolitan area or it may suggest that Puerto Ricans with higher degrees of financial and human capital choose to leave highly segregated Puerto Rican enclaves.

CAUSES OF MEXICAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

For Mexicans, seven individual socio-economic variables gave statistically significant results and one variable had a p-score between .05 and .10:

The most important variable in predicting higher Mexican/Anglo segregation is the percentage of persons foreign-born (FOREIGN BORN PERCENTAGE). The relative strength of this variable (Std Coef = .555), stresses the importance of immigration in the Mexican/Anglo segregation experience. In addition, the variable PERCENTAGE CHANGE suggests that highly segregated Mexican metropolitan areas have a large percentage of their overall population growth attributed to an immigration and migration of Mexicans and that immigration and migration of Mexicans is occurring in metropolitan areas that already have a sizeable Mexican population (NUMBER). These results suggest that the ethnic enclave experience is part of the Mexican segregation experience and that

the Mexican immigration hub is an important concept as it relates to Mexican/Anglo segregation.

Causes of Mexican/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=233)

Table 16. Regression Model: Demographic & Socio-Economic Variables and Mexican/Anglo Segregation
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

PERCENT FOREIGN BORN in 2000	(Std Coef = .555)
VALUE in 2000	(Std Coef = -.346)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.321)
HOUSEHOLD INCOME in 2000	(Std Coef = .294)
PERCENTAGE CHANGE in 1990- 2000	(Std Coef = -.139)
COLLEGE GRADUATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.123)
PERCENTAGE TOTAL GROWTH 1990- 2000	(Std Coef = .083)
NUMBER in 2000 *p=.074*	(Std Coef = .106)

Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.659 P=.000

Highly segregated Mexican metropolitan areas are also correlated with inequality in financial and human capital. The statistical significance of the Anglo Differential in income (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD) and college graduation rates (COLLEGE GARDUATION AD) suggests that the Mexican population living in highly segregated Mexican metropolitan areas is at a competitive disadvantage relative to their Anglo counterparts. It is not clear whether this competitive disadvantage is linked to the lack of financial and human capital of immigrants or to the opportunity structure available to Mexicans in immigration hubs.

Lastly, highly segregated Mexican metropolitan areas are linked with higher household income (HOUSEHOLD INCOME) and with lower housing value (VALUE) compared to other metropolitan areas. These results may suggest that segregated Mexican immigration hubs offer a better financial climate for Mexicans compared to other metropolitan areas but that compared to Anglos (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD), the segregated immigration hub is financially unequal. The prospects of improving financial inequality may be hampered by the lack of housing value (VALUE AD) and Mexicans have in the immigration hub.

CAUSES OF CUBAN/ANGLO SEGREGATION IN 2000: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

For Cubans, one individual socio-economic variable gave statistically significant results and no variables had a p-score between .05 and .10.

Causes of Cuban/Anglo Segregation in 2000 (N=51)

Table 17. Regression Model: Demographic & Socio-Economic Variables and Cuban/Anglo Segregation
All Variables with a P-Score <.050 Unless Otherwise Noted

COLLEGE GRADUATION AD in 2000	(Std Coef = -.409)
Adjusted Squared Multiple R: =.250 P=.001	

Despite the fact that there is a significant relationship between inequality in college graduation rates (COLLEGE GRADUATION AD) and highly segregated Cuban/Anglo metropolitan areas, high levels of Cuban segregation do appear to be highly influenced by the variables used in this research.

COMPARISON OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND LATINO SUB-GROUP SEGREGATION

A comparison of the nine regression models performed for Latino subgroups show that each Latino sub-group is unique. Overall, the demographic and socio-economic variables used in this research are highly predictive of segregation of Puerto Rican/Anglo and Mexican/Anglo segregation but not of Cuban/Anglo segregation. This suggests that Cuban/Anglo segregation is not a manifestation of the traditional theories of the ethnic enclave experience or of structural inequality. This seems odd because of the volume of literature that has been written about the Cuban ethnic enclave in Miami, but this research is a nationwide sample in which the Miami experience holds no more weight than any other metropolitan area.

One explanation may be that the experience of Cuban immigrants in Miami is an isolated experience not shared with other Cuban immigrants. Miami-Cubans immigrated to the United States after the Communist Revolution in Cuba in 1959. These immigrants came to Miami with a large amount of financial, human and business capital, earning the nickname of "Golden Exiles." The Golden Exiles received a good deal of government assistance and were held up as examples of the failure of Communism during the Cold War. Using federal and local assistance, along with large degrees of human and financial capital, the Miami-Cubans were able to get

a foothold in the Miami metropolitan economy and eventually were able to acquire enough political capital to reduce barriers to integration (Portes and Stepick 1993). This research may indicate that the Cuban experience in Miami is different than Cubans living outside of Miami and why traditional theories of residential segregation do not seem to apply to the Cuban/Anglo regression models.

Regression results suggest the Mexican segregation in the United States is linked to the mobility of Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans. The importance of mobility is emphasized by the higher predictive value of demographic indicators over socio-economic indicators. Population growth measure and the immigration measure are important in understanding higher Mexican/Anglo (D) scores. Population growth and measures of immigration are manifested in the concept of the Mexican immigration hub. As Mexicans and Mexican-Americans move to metropolitan areas like Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA and Chicago, IL they increase the segregation rate between Mexicans and Anglos. This appears to support the theory of ethnic enclave development as a reason why Mexican/Anglo segregation rates are high in Mexican immigration hubs.

Further evidence to support the ethnic enclave experience for Mexicans can be seen in the relationship between higher household income (HOUSEHOLD INCOME) and higher Mexican/Anglo segregation rates. This suggests that moving to Mexican immigration hubs is an economic decision, immigrants in highly segregated Mexican metropolitan areas make more money than Mexicans outside of the Mexican immigration hubs.

There is a positive correlation between the number of Puerto Ricans in a metropolitan area and higher Puerto/Rican segregation. This supports the notion that the Puerto Rican hub is an important factor in the segregation of Puerto Ricans and Anglos. There is no evidence that migration is playing a role in the segregating nature of the Puerto Rican hub. Indicators of population growth yielded no significance in our Puerto Rican regression models. In addition, Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rican hubs do not have higher income that other metropolitan areas. The economic pull of the highly segregated Puerto Rican hub is not a factor like it is for Mexicans. This means that the ethnic enclave theory has limited relevance in Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation rates in 2000.

Lower degrees of human capital (COLLEGE EDUCATION AD) are producing higher degrees of Mexican/Anglo segregation. It is not clear if this inequality is due to the lack of education of immigrants or if there are barriers to a college education for Mexicans in highly segregated metropolitan areas. For Puerto Ricans, there is a lower rate of college education (COLLEGE EDUCATION) in highly segregated Puerto Rican metropoli-

tan areas compared to other metropolitan areas. This difference cannot be attributed to the lack of college education of migrants due to the lack of significance of population growth variables, but is not clear if Puerto Ricans face barriers to education in highly segregated metropolitan areas or if college educated Puerto Ricans are leaving the Puerto Rican hubs and integrating into other metropolitan areas.

Both Puerto Ricans and Mexicans have a positive relationship between greater inequality of financial capital (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD) and higher segregation with Anglos. This is compounded for Puerto Ricans due to the fact that greater inequality in the poverty rate (POVERTY AD) is also linked to higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. Lack of financial capital compared to Anglos is causing residential segregation for both Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, this relationships seems to have more strength for Puerto Ricans.

The socio-economic regression model indicates that for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, a lower housing value (VALUE) is linked with higher rates of segregation from Anglos. Mexican and Puerto Rican communities in highly segregated metropolitan areas have less housing value than their counterparts in metropolitan areas with lower rates of segregation. A lower housing value in a highly segregated metropolitan area inhibits the ability to obtain housing equity and thus limits residential mobility.

Puerto Ricans face barriers in accessing suburban housing markets. Mexicans do not face barriers to suburbanization, according to the regression models of this research. Puerto Rican suburbanization barriers may be due to limited housing equity combined with expensive suburbanization markets in highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas. It could also be due to the choice of successful Puerto Ricans to not suburbanize in highly segregated metropolitan areas, but to move to more integrated metropolitan areas. This phenomenon could also due be to discrimination in the suburbanization process. Suburbanization is not an integrating force for Mexicans. Despite fact that Mexican ethnic enclaves seem to assist suburbanization, Mexicans still have lower housing values in highly segregated Mexican/Anglo metropolitan areas. This may indicate that Mexicans are suburbanizing to cheaper inner-ring suburbs. The Los-Angeles-Long Beach suburbanization experience confirms this phenomenon. (See Map 6: Map of Los-Angeles-Long Beach MSA).

Structural inequality in Mexican/Anglo segregation fits the general profile discussed in the results section of Latinos. Inequality in income may be the product of Mexican labor niches in metropolitan economies. These labor niches are attractive to Mexican migrants because they provide a better income compare to other metropolitan areas and are certainly better than

incomes available in Mexico. The problem may be in the unequal nature of occupational niches. Occupational niches may be acting as a mobility trap limiting future income and limiting opportunities to integrate. The secondary status of Mexicans in the metropolitan economy is a structural barrier in the Mexican/Anglo segregation experience.

SEC European immigrants experienced occupational niches but were able to obtain generation wealth due the importance of the low-skill, high-wage American economy at the time of their arrival and the lack of importance of a college education in the process of occupational mobility. The economy Mexicans are facing in 2000 is much different than the economy SEC Europeans faced in 1910. Economic restructuring and globalization are making it much more difficult for Mexicans to close the inequality gap in income. As a result, they face the potential for permanent secondary status with limited potential for integration into mainstream society.

The regression models constructed for Puerto Ricans reflect a strong link between inequality in suburbanization and socio-economic variables and highly segregated Puerto Rican/Anglo metropolitan areas. Demographically, metropolitan areas with a larger Puerto Rican population are experiencing higher degrees of Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. Spatially, these are the original ethnic enclaves in the Northeast region (See Map 3: Puerto Rican/Anglo (D) Scores in 2000). Population growth alone is not an important factor for Puerto Ricans. These results also suggest in older, larger Puerto Rican enclaves there are barriers to suburbanization that are linked to higher Puerto Rican segregation rates. The map of the New York metropolitan area in Map 7 illustrates the barriers to suburbanization for Puerto Ricans in the main Puerto Rican migrant hub.

Opportunity structures in the Puerto Rican enclave are not producing integration opportunities. Socio-economic inequality in the form of financial capital (HOUSEHOLD INCOME AD and POVERTY AD) is causing higher Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation. In addition, highly segregated Puerto Rican enclaves have lower levels of human capital (COLLEGE EDUCATION) and housing value (VALUE). Due to the fact that growth or mobility is not associated with increases in Puerto Rican segregation, there is evidence that inequality in financial, housing and human capital is the result of a lack of opportunity structures for Puerto Ricans living in the metropolitan area not from Puerto Ricans moving in the metropolitan area.

Conversely, this may indicate that college educated and wealthier Puerto Ricans are choosing to move out of the older highly segregated Puerto Rican enclaves not though suburbanization in the same metropolitan area but are relocating to more integrated metropolitan areas. This

Puerto Rican "brain drain" may be a reaction to the lack of opportunity structures for Puerto Ricans and the perception of opportunity outside of the older Puerto Rican enclaves.

Overall, the three Latino sub-groups in this research have unique residential segregation experiences. Cubans do not appear to have structural barriers to integration with Anglos. There experiences generally reflect the ethnic enclave theory of segregated enclave development and integration through improved socioeconomic status and generational wealth accumulation. Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation reflects a bifurcated experience of structural inequality in the older original enclaves of the Northeast and a smaller but growing affluent community that has left the northeast and integrated in other metropolitan areas. The Mexican/Anglo segregation experience is more complex. Mexican/Anglo segregation begins as a traditional ethnic enclave, based on the mobility of immigrants and migrants. Mexicans in segregated ethnic enclaves face elements of structural inequality in their socio-economic status and ability to obtain generational wealth. The nature of Mexican immigrant labor and economic restructuring, combined with limited ability to obtain housing equity are limiting the residential mobility choices of Mexicans and, along with large rates of immigration, are keeping Mexicans out of the American mainstream and the exposing Mexicans to the social ills associated with residential segregation.

Chapter Nine

Summary and Conclusions

Overall, segregation between Latinos and Anglos has increased and Latinos have become more isolated from the American mainstream. The vast majority of highly segregated Latinos live in the immigration hubs of Los Angeles-Long Beach, New York, and Chicago. The remainder of highly segregated Latino/Anglo metropolitan areas are concentrated in the Northeast (See Map 1: Latino Segregation in 2000). Conversely, Black/Anglo segregation has decreased. As of 2000, Latinos are more segregated from Anglos than from Blacks. While Black/Anglo segregation is still greater than Latino/Anglo segregation, the differences between the two groups have been greatly reduced.

This research suggests that Latino immigration and migration are major reasons why metropolitan areas have higher Latino/Anglo segregation rates and larger increases in Latino/Anglo segregation. It appears that Latinos, like the SEC European immigrants before them, are moving into neighborhoods in metropolitan areas where culture, language and folkways are shared with people of their own background. The connection between Latino mobility and ethnic enclave formation connected to high levels of Mexican immigration. It seems quite clear that the formation of segregated immigrant Latino communities is rooted in the ethnic enclave experience.

What is not clear is how successful Latino immigrants and their children have been in moving up the occupational ladder, acquiring wealth and integrating into mainstream America. An historical analysis related to ethnic enclave formation and integration of SEC European immigrants is based on cohorts with definitive starting and ending points. However, it is difficult to look at Latino immigrants as a discrete cohort because immigration rates are still very high in 2000. Conclusions drawn about Latino integration or barriers to integration must be seen as trends rather than concrete findings.

There is growing evidence that Latino ethnic enclaves are at risk of becoming isolated from the mainstream because of structural inequalities in the processes of generational wealth accumulation. SEC European immigrants were able to acquire wealth through low-skill, high wage labor and occupational mobility. Occupational mobility provided opportunities for homeownership. Homeownership brought increased housing equity, which allowed for residential mobility, mainly suburbanization. This was the traditional path to integration for SEC immigrants.

Today, the path to integration is more problematic for Latinos; in other words, despite hard work and improved economic status, many Latinos are stalled in an ethnic enclave. This phenomenon appears to be a major problem for Puerto Ricans in the Northeast where traditional barrios have maintained high rates of segregation despite falling migration from the island. There is also evidence that the Mexican immigration hubs of Los Angeles and Chicago are witnessing long-term segregation problems. This problem is difficult to address in this study because of the lack of ability to separate immigration cohorts (i.e. 1st generation, 2nd generation) and whether 2nd generation Mexicans are achieving economic parity with Anglos. The metro area of Los Angeles is also a problem because many of the suburbanized Mexicans actual live in areas which resemble central city barrios. This is due to the fact that East LA, which the U.S. Census defines as a suburb, reflects the place stratification model rather than the ethnic enclave model.

Recent economic restructuring has created an economic niche for low-skill, low-wage labor with little chance of occupational mobility. Increasingly, Latino immigrants are filling the low-skill low- wage economic niche. The Latino labor niche has assisted in building ethnic enclaves that are a competitive disadvantage in the economic marketplace and are structurally unequal to Anglos. This research suggests that employment, without a college education, will not ensure occupational mobility, generational wealth building, and integration into the American mainstream. Structural barriers to occupational mobility are especially problematic in metropolitan areas that rely on large numbers of low-skill, low-wage workers such as in the manufacturing sector. In these metropolitan areas, Latino enclaves have become pools of flexible, low wage labor with little opportunity for occupational mobility and integration with mainstream America.

This study's results also suggest that structural barriers to housing equity are creating residential segregation for Latinos. One of the most traditional routes to enter the economic American mainstream is through homeownership. Homeownership creates housing equity and housing equity provides opportunities for residential mobility, mainly suburbanization.

From a real estate perspective, segregated central city areas are often deemed less valuable than White suburban areas (Brookings Institute 2001, Jackson 1985). This means that Latinos living in Latino ethnic enclaves will acquire less housing equity over time and will have limited residential mobility choices. Inequality in home ownership, housing value and housing equity are structural barriers that reinforce the initial segregation of the ethnic enclave. This phenomenon is happening despite suburbanization.

The Latino/Anglo suburban segregation rate rose faster than any other group in this research. Latino suburbanization is not producing integration; rather it is producing new ethnic enclaves. Latino suburban ethnic enclaves are appearing in inner ring suburbs that have lower property values and less potential for generational wealth accumulation. It appears that Latino suburbanization patterns are mirroring the process of central city residential ethnic succession. Suburban residential ethnic succession challenges the traditional path of suburbanization leading to integration and suggests that improved economic status does not lead to reduced Latino/Anglo segregation.

Homeownership and suburbanization as wealth creation vehicles have, to date, offered limited wealth potential for Latinos. Latinos also appear to be at a competitive disadvantage in the process of occupational mobility compared to Anglos. Latino enclaves appear to be not just a creation of ethnic similarities but also an enclave of the secondary status connected with structural inequalities. The road to residential integration for Latinos appears to be based on eliminating barriers to homeownership, closing the housing equity gap with Anglos, increasing the number of college educated workers, and obtaining the types of jobs that close the income gap with the majority Anglo population.

Contrary to previous research (Massey and Denton 1987), the causes of Latino/Anglo segregation are quite similar to Black/Anglo segregation, both in the predictive direction of demographic and socio-economic variables on segregation as well as the statistical significance of individual variables in regression models. The only basic differences are related to the positive relationship between increased immigration and suburbanization variables and increased Latino/Anglo segregation, this relationship was not significant for Black/Anglo segregation and the influence of higher unemployment and increased Black/Anglo segregation, this relationship was not significant for Latino/Anglo segregation. In addition, Latino/Anglo segregation rates are higher than Latino/Black segregation rates. These results challenge the theoretical concept that Black segregation is unique and that Latinos, because they are more similar to SEC Europeans than Blacks, will eventually integrate into mainstream America. The apparently parallel

experience of Blacks and Latinos may be a function of the generational effects of civil rights legislation for Blacks and the emerging Latino ethnic enclaves with structural inequalities.

Sound Latino-specific residential segregation theory must address the diverse nature of Latinos. Latinos place a large emphasis on national origin as a basis for their identity and reject the fixed categories of race in the U.S. Census (Rodriguez 1991, Duany 2002). Categories of ethnicity and national origin are better suited to develop a Latino-specific segregation theory and reflect the shared immigration experiences of Latino sub-groups. Overall, the three Latino sub-groups in this research have unique experiences in their patterns of residential segregation. Indeed, the understanding of the different patterns of residential segregation for the three Latino sub-groups is important because the path to integration for each group is different. By researching Latinos as an umbrella group, the differences experiences between Latino sub-groups are lost.

The Cuban segregation experience most closely resembles the basic components of the ethnic enclave theory. Cubans established a highly successful ethnic enclave in Miami, FL. Over time they have been able to get a foothold in the Miami economy and have been fairly successful in integrating with Anglos. In addition, it does not appear that Cubans face substantial barriers to integration in other metropolitan areas. Overall, Cuban/Anglo segregation rates have decreased in all areas between 1990–2000.

Decreases in Cuban/Anglo segregation have reduced the number of Cubans living in a highly segregated metropolitan area to less that 50,000. The gap between Cuban/Black (72.9) segregation rates and Cuban/Anglo segregation rates (50.4) is relatively high (22.5 points) and is increasing. For Cubans, demographic and socio-economic variables have a much lower predictive value than Mexicans and Puerto Ricans and the only statistically significant variable is inequality of college education rates. Cubans do not appear to have structural impediments to integration with Anglos and mainstream society.

At the metropolitan level, Puerto Ricans continue to be the most segregated Latino sub-group with Anglos and have higher segregation rates from Anglos (57.3) than from Blacks (50.5). This is an indication of exclusion from mainstream Anglo society. Internal metropolitan segregation patterns reveal that Puerto Ricans are the most segregated Latino sub-group at the central city level, but the least segregated in the suburbs. This mirrors a more traditional pattern of central city enclave development but there is strong evidence of inequality in suburbanization patterns of Puerto Ricans in highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan

areas. Inequality in Puerto Rican suburbanization rates is supported by the lack of Puerto Ricans in suburban New York (See Map 7: New York, NY MSA).

The overall nature of Puerto Rican segregation suggests a bifurcation in status with older, highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas deeply rooted in socio-economic inequality and newer metropolitan areas with growing Puerto Rican communities where socio-economic inequality is much less of a problem and integration is more apparent. These results show that, in the older, larger Puerto Rican enclaves, inequality in income, poverty, housing value and suburbanization are barriers to integration. Structural inequality is creating a cyclical effect where Puerto Ricans are having a difficult time acquiring wealth and integrating into the mainstream economy, which continues to keep segregation rates high. This cyclical effect is not a manifestation of migrants with lower rates of human and financial capital but a result of a lack of opportunity structures for Puerto Ricans living in the older enclaves or perhaps discriminatory practices. The older Puerto Rican enclaves bear a resemblance to the structural inequality or places stratification theory.

Puerto Ricans who are acquiring wealth do not seem to be following the ethnic enclave model of suburbanization; rather, they appear to be moving to different metropolitan areas. Areas of higher Puerto Rican growth do not have high rates of Puerto Rican/Anglo segregation and do not have high rates of inequality in human and financial capital. Puerto Rican integration appears to be a function of socio-economic status but not in the traditional sense of suburbanization from the enclave but a new phenomenon of enclave flight. This phenomenon can be seen in the Orlando, FL MSA (see Map 9: Orlando, FL MSA). Orlando has seen a 182% increase in its Puerto Rican suburban population and a Puerto Rican suburbanization rate that is almost equal to Anglos. Geographically, the bifurcation theory of Puerto Rican segregation can be displayed in the fact that no metropolitan area outside of the Northeast and industrial Midwest is highly segregated (See Map 3: Puerto Rican Segregation in 2000).

Like Puerto Ricans, Mexican/Anglo segregation patterns offer mixed results. The results of this research highlight that Mexican/Anglo segregation is linked to high rates of immigration to immigration hubs. In Mexican immigration hubs, immigrants arrive with lower rates of human and financial capital and help build the ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are creating opportunities for Mexicans and there is no clear indication of structural barriers to suburbanization. Indeed, inequality in Mexican suburbanization rates were not a significant variable in these models. Clearly,

this is evidence that supports the ethnic enclave theory for Mexicans, but further analysis reveals contradictions.

As Mexicans suburbanize, they do not integrate; rather they continue to show a pattern of segregation. The highest suburban segregation rates for Latino sub-groups are Mexican and Mexican/Anglo suburban segregation had the largest increases between 1990–2000 in this entire study. Mexican segregation rates are almost equal in central cities and the suburbs. This may suggest that instead of suburbanization leading to integration, Mexicans are suburbanizing into ethnic enclaves, a phenomenon known as inner ring suburban ethnic residential succession. Inner ring suburban ethnic residential succession is mostly likely due to the limited housing equity of Mexicans and the low real estate values in suburbs near ethnic enclaves. This phenomenon is most evident in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area (see Map 6: Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA MSA) where Latinos are replacing Blacks and Anglos in the suburbs surrounding southern part of the City of Los Angeles.

Inner ring suburban ethnic residential succession is an economically rational solution to structural inequalities in income and housing equity, and limited wealth creation. Mexicans moving to ethnic enclaves are offered low wage employment and are moving into neighborhoods with lower housing value. The occupational mobility of jobs traditionally filled by Latinos is severely limited and income becomes structurally unequal (Ortiz 2001, Davis 2001). In addition, the housing equity in the ethnic enclave is limited due to speculative real estate practices (Brookings Institution 2001). Mexicans are suburbanizing despite structural barriers in wealth creation due to inequality in income and housing equity. These structural inequalities are limiting mobility choices and limiting Mexicans to inner-ring suburbs that are often facing the same socio-economic problems as segregated central city ethnic enclaves (Orfield 1997).

The structural barriers to wealth creation and inequality in housing equity are causing Mexican/Anglo segregation to increase. These increases have fundamentally changed the nature of Mexican segregation. In 1990, Mexicans were more segregated from Blacks than from Anglos; but by 2000, this reversed. Mexicans are now more segregated from Anglos than Blacks. This research suggests that Mexican segregation is fundamentally changing and does reflect elements of exclusion from mainstream society.

Mexican segregation patterns are more complicated than Massey and Denton hypothesized (Massey and Denton 1987, Massey and Denton 1993). True, the formation of segregated Mexican metropolitan areas resembles the classic pattern of ethnic enclave development. Immigration is causing higher rates of segregation in Mexican immigration hubs. What

Massey and Denton missed are the structural barriers Mexicans face in wealth creation and how those barriers have limited spatial mobility. There is strong evidence to suggest that Mexicans will not fully integrate into the American mainstream and that inequality is limiting their opportunity structures.

From a geographical perspective, this research has highlighted an important phenomenon. The Northeast has the highest rates of segregation for Latinos. The oldest and largest Puerto Rican enclaves in the country are located in the Northeast region. This has lead many to assume that Puerto Rican segregation was fundamentally different that other Latinos. Indeed, Puerto Rican segregation is highest in the Northeast and 83% of all highly segregated Puerto Rican metropolitan areas are in the Northeast.

Between 1990–2000, Mexican immigration and migration has increased substantially across the country including the Northeast region. What is unusual is the extent to which Mexicans are highly segregated in Northeast. In 2000, four of the five most segregated Mexican metropolitan areas are in the Northeast, including New York, and the Northeast region is the most segregated region for Mexicans. This may suggest that barriers to integration are more prevalent in the Northeast region or the economic and housing patterns in this area are more important issues than the ethnicity of the population. To be stated unequivocally, this concept needs to be researched more extensively.

Overall, this research challenges the notion that Black residential segregation is a unique phenomenon and that race is the main important factor when considering inequality residential segregation theory (Massey and Denton 1993). The Mexican segregation experience at the beginning of the 21st century proves that structural inequalities in the housing market and the economy are important factors in understanding the nature of Latino residential segregation. These results do not diminish the impact of race on residential segregation but suggest that economic and housing inequality are also part of the structural problem of residential segregation of Latinos in metropolitan areas of the United States.

X. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The author offers six possible public policy agendas that could possibly make the problem of residential segregation of Latinos, and all ethnic and racial minorities, less severe. The historic role of public policy, in regards to residential segregation, has been a mixed blessing. Many government programs have assisted in segregating racial and ethnic minorities; especially Federal programs that have a broad based agenda and are implemented at

the local level. Advocating for broad based government solutions does not seem logical given the current anti-government sentiment in our country currently. The author offers five reform agendas for public policy debate in lieu of new policy solutions.

Enforcement of Current Laws—The Civil Rights Act, Housing Rights Act, Community Reinvestment Act and Voting Rights Act are all current laws that prohibit discrimination and attempt to reduce inequality for ethnic and racial minorities and the neighborhoods they live in. Although this study offers no direct concrete evidence of blatant discrimination in metropolitan segregation patterns, it is naive to believe that it does not exist. The vestiges of racist attitudes and xenophobia linger in the real estate and lending market, hiring practices, access to political power and create powerful barriers to equality. Enforcement and education of current civil rights laws must be maintained to ensure equal access to suburban housing markets, home loans and investment capital. A more controversial reform of the Voting Rights Act would allow local areas to amend voting laws to include legally documented non-citizens to vote. Documented non-citizen Latino immigrants work, pay taxes, and comprise a necessary component to our workforce but they are not allowed to participate in the political process. Political empowerment is a key component to Latino equality and community development. Voting legislation should attempt to get more Latinos to vote and not provide barriers to voting. Allowing legally documented non-citizens to vote would empower individuals and have a profound effect on Latino equality.

Education Reform—This research confirms the direct link between college education and residential segregation for Latinos. A college education is becoming increasingly expensive and difficult for low-income families and immigrants. The following policies would help reduce barriers to post-secondary education for racial and ethnic minorities and assist many Latinos in entering the economic mainstream: Allowing State residency privilege for all immigrants, documented or undocumented, for college tuition purposes; Increase the number of Pell grants and all forms of education assistance; Bolstering the use of race and ethnicity as a college admissions criteria. In addition, localities need to be more flexible in the use of bi-lingual education in primary and secondary schools.

Housing Tax Reform—Currently, most taxes on housing are property taxes collected at the local level. Local property taxes have bolstered an atmosphere of exclusion in order to maintain property values. Local exclusionary practices started as a way to keep certain groups of people from living in certain areas. (i.e. Chinese, Blacks, Mexicans). Currently, exclusionary practices are more economic in nature and allow suburban areas to zone

out smaller less expensive homes. Given the nature of income inequality in metropolitan areas, this amounts to economic racial and ethnic exclusion. Local property tax authority has had a segregating effect on schools and public spaces. The ability to approach housing taxes and zoning from a regional level could eliminate exclusionary economic zoning practices and allow for larger diversity of housing stock and have a segregating effect on schools and public life. A more controversial idea is the elimination of tax breaks for interest on home loans. This tax break is a regressive tax that only assists homeowners. It also has been an incentive for Americans to suburbanize, build bigger and more expensive homes and to economically segregate housing to maintain housing value.

Immigration Reform—Immigration policy in the United States completely ignores the historical legacy and the economic reality of Mexican labor immigration. Current policy spends billions of dollars to militarize the Mexican-U.S. border but has minimal consequences for employers that provide the incentive for illegal immigration. Current policy catalyzes segregation by driving undocumented laborers into the ethnic enclaves for safe harbor and allows undocumented laborers to be exploited and underpaid. Immigration policy reform needs to either eliminate the incentive for undocumented labor by more strictly enforcing the penalties for businesses that employ undocumented workers or develop an amnesty policy that moves undocumented workers to a legal status.

Targeted Assistance to Immigrants—Targeted assistance to immigrants would ease the integration process and build more economically viable ethnic enclaves. One of the key factors towards the success of Cubans in South Florida was the effort by the federal government and local bodies of government to assistance the refugees in their resettlement efforts. Access to capital is a primary barrier for immigrant entrepreneurship, homeownership and income equality. Small Business Assistance (SBA) loans were key to building a strong ethnic enclave business economy in Miami. Bi-lingual education programs for children and adults smoothed the transition in the cultural and economic mainstream and helped build a college educated business community. The bundling of public resources to address resettlement issues of immigrants would not require new resources but could be done through interagency cooperation at the federal level and with local agencies through entitlement programs and block grants.

Overall, many of these reforms depend on public support for immigrants and immigration. A public relations campaign highlighting the importance of immigration to the American economy may be an effective way to bolster public support. Federally funded initiatives have been helpful in changing public sentiment around smoking tobacco, drunken driving,

and domestic violence. A well-orchestrated campaign highlighting the benefits of immigration to the American economy may be necessary to build support of any real public policy changes that involve immigrants.

Appendix One

Index of Isolation 1890-1930 for Blacks and Whites in 17 Non-Southern Cities

Appendix 1: Index of Isolation 1890-1930

for Blacks and Whites in 17 Non-Southern Cities

	Index of Isolation for Whites					***Change***	*Index of Isolation for Blacks*					***Change***
	1890	***1900***	***1910***	***1920***	***1930***	***1890-1930***	***1890***	***1900***	***1910***	***1920***	***1930***	***1890-1930***
Boston	0.983	0.980	0.982	0.981	0.978	**-0.005**	0.085	0.064	0.113	0.152	0.192	**0.107**
Buffalo	0.993	0.996	0.996	0.992	0.982	**-0.011**	0.010	0.044	0.057	0.102	0.242	**0.232**
Chicago	0.988	0.984	0.983	0.974	0.978	**-0.010**	0.081	0.104	0.151	0.381	0.704	**0.623**
Cincinnati	0.963	0.958	0.950	0.941	0.934	**-0.029**	0.094	0.101	0.132	0.269	0.446	**0.352**
Cleveland	0.989	0.985	0.981	0.966	0.958	**-0.032**	0.047	0.075	0.079	0.239	0.510	**0.463**
Detroit	0.984	0.986	0.988	0.964	0.943	**-0.041**	0.056	0.064	0.068	0.147	0.312	**0.256**
Indianapolis	0.922	0.912	0.916	0.905	0.898	**-0.023**	0.129	0.151	0.185	0.234	0.261	**0.132**
Kansas City	0.899	0.896	0.918	0.920	0.927	**0.028**	0.127	0.132	0.217	0.237	0.316	**0.189**
Los Angeles	0.975	0.980	0.977	0.974	0.976	**0.001**	0.033	0.032	0.038	0.078	0.256	**0.223**
Milwaukee	0.998	0.997	0.997	0.995	0.989	**-0.009**	0.014	0.024	0.019	0.041	0.164	**0.150**
Minneapolis	0.992	0.993	0.992	0.990	0.992	**0.000**	0.016	0.016	0.017	0.021	0.017	**0.001**
Newark	0.978	0.974	0.974	0.960	0.926	**-0.052**	0.041	0.055	0.054	0.070	0.228	**0.187**
New York City	0.985	0.983	0.982	0.978	0.971	**-0.014**	0.036	0.050	0.067	0.205	0.418	**0.382**
Philadelphia	0.966	0.958	0.951	0.937	0.908	**-0.058**	0.117	0.164	0.157	0.208	0.273	**0.156**
Pittsburgh	0.969	0.951	0.956	0.943	0.935	**-0.034**	0.081	0.120	0.120	0.165	0.268	**0.187**
St. Louis	0.944	0.943	0.944	0.930	0.931	**-0.012**	0.109	0.126	0.172	0.295	0.466	**0.357**
San Francisco	0.994	0.995	0.996	0.995	0.994	**0.000**	0.014	0.011	0.007	0.010	0.017	**0.003**
17 City Average	*0.972*	*0.969*	*0.970*	*0.962*	*0.954*	**-0.018**	*0.067*	*0.078*	*0.097*	*0.168*	*0.299*	**0.232**

Source: Lieberson, Stanley, (1980), *A Piece of the Pie: Black and White Immigrants Since 1880,* University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Appendix Two

Residential Segregation (D) Scores 1970-2000

The Weighted Mean (D) Score for all Metropolitan Areas in the United States

Appendix 2: Residential Segregation (D) Scores 1970-2000

the Weighted Mean (D) Score for all Metropolitan Areas in the United States

Residental Segregation of Latinos and Blacks from Anglos

Latinos and Blacks: Metropolitan Areas with More Than 5,000
Latinos and Blacks: Central City and Suburban Areas with More Than 2,000

					Regional (D) Scores			
	1970*	1980*	1990	2000	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Latino/Anglo								
Metropolian	44.4	43.4	50.9	51.7	60.8	54.5	42.9	50.7
Central City	*N.A.*	*N.A.*	56.3	56.2				
Suburban	*N.A.*	*N.A.*	46.6	48.8				
Black/Anglo								
Metropolian	79.2	69.4	69.0	65.0				
Gap between Black/Anglo and Latino/Anglo (D) scores	34.8	26.0	18.1	13.3				

Residental Segregation of Latino Sub-Groups from Anglos

Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans: Metropolitan Areas with More Than 2,000
Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans: Central City and Suburban Areas with More Than 1,000

				Regional (D) Scores			
Metropolitan Area	1980**	1990	2000	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Mexican/Anglo	51.9	51.6	53.2	62.5	56.8	52.6	52.0
Puerto Rican/Anglo	66.5	62.2	57.3	64.0	63.1	41.0	37.4
Cuban/Anglo	57.7	56.1	50.4	50.7	47.6	51.8	39.4
Central City							
Mexican/Anglo	*N.A.*	52.9	53.1				
Puerto Rican/Anglo	*N.A.*	63.8	55.0				
Cuban/Anglo	*N.A.*	53.6	51.0				
Suburban							
Mexican/Anglo	*N.A.*	47.4	50.6				
Puerto Rican/Anglo	*N.A.*	44.4	42.8				
Cuban/Anglo	*N.A.*	54.7	49.4				
Central City/Suburban Gap		1990	2000				
Mexican/Anglo	*N.A.*	5.5	2.5				
Puerto Rican/Anglo	*N.A.*	19.4	12.2				
Cuban/Anglo	*N.A.*	-1.1	1.6				

Segregation with Blacks			**Segregation with Anglos**		***Difference (Black minus Anglo)***	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Latino/Black	54.1	49.1	50.9	51.7	3.2	-2.6
Mexican/Black	53.4	49.3	51.6	53.2	1.8	-3.9
Puerto Rican/Black	56.3	50.5	62.2	57.3	-5.9	-6.8
Cuban/Black	77.0	72.9	56.1	50.4	20.9	22.5

** Historical Data: (Massey and Denton, 1987) ** Historical Data (Massey and Denton, 1989b).*

Appendix Three

Latino Residential Segregation in 2000

Index of Dissimilarity-(D) Scores and Population Figures
Metropolitan Areas w/ More Than 5,000 Latinos (N=236)

Appendix 3: Latino Residential Segregation in 2000

Index of Dissimilarity-(D) Scores and Population Figures

Metropolitan Areas w/More Than 5,000 Latinos (N=236)

MSANAME	(D) Score Latino/ Anglo 2000	(D) Score Mexican/ Anglo 2000	(D) Score Puerto Rican/ Anglo 2000	(D) Score Cuban/ Anglo 2000	Number of Latinos (x 1,000) 2000
Abilene, TX MSA	39	42	35	52	22.3
Akron, OH PMSA	27	28	39	55	5.9
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	41	32	51	44	23.8
Albuquerque, NM MSA	41	46	26	46	296.4
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	62	50	67	41	50.6
Amarillo, TX MSA	47	48	42	60	42.6
Anchorage, AK MSA	26	24	32	41	14.8
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	38	43	44	46	17.7
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah, WI MSA	32	36	37	60	6.7
Asheville, NC MSA	33	40	36	37	6.0
Athens, GA MSA	49	58	34	36	7.8
Atlanta, GA MSA	52	60	37	34	268.9
Atlantic-Cape May, NJ PMSA	53	61	52	50	34.1
Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC MSA	30	36	41	40	11.7
Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	46	48	36	39	327.8
Bakersfield, CA MSA	54	55	46	48	254.0
Baltimore, MD PMSA	36	43	38	40	51.3
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	32	41	41	45	10.6
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX MSA	50	51	50	57	30.8
Bellingham, WA MSA	23	25	32	45	8.7
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	58	75	59	34	237.9
Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula, MS MSA	27	34	39	46	8.5
Birmingham, AL MSA	48	56	45	49	16.6
Boise City, ID MSA	40	44	28	44	37.9
Boston, MA-NH PMSA	59	46	63	44	202.5
Boulder-Longmont, CO PMSA	38	43	28	33	30.5
Brazoria, TX PMSA	29	30	33	42	55.1
Bremerton, WA PMSA	22	22	31	33	9.6
Bridgeport, CT PMSA	67	68	73	45	56.9
Brockton, MA PMSA	58	43	64	39	9.5
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX MSA	46	47	37	53	282.7
Bryan-College Station, TX MSA	43	47	24	29	27.3
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	56	35	65	57	34.0
Champaign-Urbana, IL MSA	33	36	39	41	5.2
Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	34	29	48	53	13.1
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	50	58	41	46	77.1
Chattanooga, TN-GA MSA	35	38	44	47	7.0

Cheyenne, WY MSA	25	28	34	51	8.9
Chicago, IL PMSA	62	64	66	47	1416.6
Chico-Paradise, CA MSA	29	30	27	38	21.3
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	30	36	38	55	17.7
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY MSA	42	39	46	41	10.5
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	58	47	68	53	74.9
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	31	33	37	32	58.4
Columbia, SC MSA	35	42	47	38	12.9
Columbus, GA-AL MSA	46	50	45	42	10.9
Columbus, OH MSA	38	45	38	47	28.1
Corpus Christi, TX MSA	46	48	31	38	208.1
Dallas, TX PMSA	54	56	33	39	810.5
Danbury, CT PMSA	53	49	39	27	15.3
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL MSA	40	42	40	62	20.7
Daytona Beach, FL MSA	43	61	52	29	31.6
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	27	33	39	50	11.3
Denver, CO PMSA	50	55	34	37	397.2
Des Moines, IA MSA	47	50	45	55	19.1
Detroit, MI PMSA	46	48	60	51	128.1
Dutchess County, NY PMSA	33	52	34	32	18.1
El Paso, TX MSA	46	47	30	34	531.7
Elkhart-Goshen, IN MSA	49	51	44	62	16.3
Erie, PA MSA	49	43	60	60	6.1
Eugene-Springfield, OR MSA	24	28	28	42	14.9
Fayetteville, NC MSA	31	31	33	35	20.9
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR MSA	47	49	45	62	26.4
Fitchburg-Leominster, MA PMSA	43	36	46	37	11.8
Flagstaff, AZ-UT MSA	37	38	38	41	12.9
Flint, MI PMSA	27	28	42	43	10.2
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO MSA	22	25	32	43	20.8
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	32	43	33	41	271.7
Fort Myers-Cape Coral, FL MSA	43	60	48	34	42.0
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie, FL MSA	43	68	40	25	25.2
Fort Smith, AR-OK MSA	49	50	47	55	10.2
Fort Walton Beach, FL MSA	24	27	29	35	7.3
Fort Wayne, IN MSA	46	49	48	59	16.7
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	48	51	41	43	309.9
Fresno, CA MSA	48	49	37	44	406.2
Gainesville, FL MSA	22	21	24	30	12.5
Galveston-Texas City, TX PMSA	32	33	31	29	44.9
Gary, IN PMSA	48	49	53	50	66.2
Goldsboro, NC MSA	34	41	36	59	5.6
Grand Junction, CO MSA	23	24	37	50	11.7
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	52	53	54	50	68.9
Greeley, CO PMSA	37	39	32	59	48.9
Green Bay, WI MSA	53	56	48	56	8.7
Greensboro--Winston-Salem--High Point, NC MSA	51	57	43	53	62.2

Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	40	46	37	46	26.2
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	55	44	63	53	19.6
Hartford, CT MSA	64	50	70	43	113.5
Hickory-Morganton-Lenoir, NC MSA	43	47	47	63	13.8
Honolulu, HI MSA	34	26	47	40	58.7
Houston, TX PMSA	56	58	39	39	1248.6
Huntsville, AL MSA	34	42	42	40	7.0
Indianapolis, IN MSA	44	49	40	48	43.0
Jacksonville, FL MSA	26	28	32	29	42.1
Jacksonville, NC MSA	28	25	29	34	10.9
Jamestown, NY MSA	53	43	56	63	5.9
Janesville-Beloit, WI MSA	41	45	40	66	6.0
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	45	55	40	66	242.1
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek, MI MSA	39	44	38	50	16.3
Kankakee, IL PMSA	44	47	47	61	5.0
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	46	50	41	50	92.9
Kenosha, WI PMSA	41	44	34	41	10.8
Killeen-Temple, TX MSA	27	25	47	41	49.1
Knoxville, TN MSA	27	33	32	40	8.6
Lafayette, IN MSA	39	28	46	51	10.3
Lafayette, LA MSA	22	46	37	53	5.1
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL MSA	37	53	33	34	45.9
Lancaster, PA MSA	62	39	68	56	26.7
Lansing-East Lansing, MI MSA	39	40	44	58	21.2
Laredo, TX MSA	29	29	24	28	182.1
Las Cruces, NM MSA	38	42	26	33	110.7
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	43	46	27	43	322.0
Lawrence, MA-NH PMSA	75	40	77	51	55.6
Lawton, OK MSA	20	19	28	37	9.7
Lexington, KY MSA	40	48	35	45	11.9
Lincoln, NE MSA	33	35	36	40	8.4
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	35	41	42	54	12.3
Longview-Marshall, TX MSA	45	46	41	55	14.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	63	65	42	42	4242.2
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	36	40	40	61	16.5
Lowell, MA-NH PMSA	61	30	67	42	17.2
Lubbock, TX MSA	44	45	34	49	66.6
Macon, GA MSA	32	41	33	38	6.7
Madison, WI MSA	38	44	38	42	14.4
Manchester, NH PMSA	41	53	45	42	6.0
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	45	45	34	48	503.1
Medford-Ashland, OR MSA	31	34	32	45	12.1
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, FL MSA	25	24	33	19	22.0
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	48	55	41	44	27.5
Merced, CA MSA	33	33	33	48	95.5
Miami, FL PMSA	44	54	40	54	1291.7
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	52	68	50	33	131.1

Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	60	62	65	53	94.5
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	47	52	43	52	99.1
Mobile, AL MSA	26	33	35	44	7.4
Modesto, CA MSA	36	37	30	44	141.9
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	38	60	39	27	63.8
Myrtle Beach, SC MSA	30	38	28	39	5.1
Naples, FL MSA	55	68	49	48	49.3
Nashua, NH PMSA	50	54	49	26	6.5
Nashville, TN MSA	46	52	43	43	40.1
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	47	49	42	31	282.7
New Bedford, MA PMSA	56	47	59	48	10.4
New Haven-Meriden, CT PMSA	60	64	66	37	53.3
New London-Norwich, CT-RI MSA	48	37	54	42	13.8
New Orleans, LA MSA	36	34	35	39	58.5
New York, NY PMSA	67	69	69	52	2339.8
Newark, NJ PMSA	65	58	69	57	270.6
Newburgh, NY-PA PMSA	40	64	35	34	42.1
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	32	31	36	33	49.0
Oakland, CA PMSA	47	51	42	36	441.7
Ocala, FL MSA	32	45	37	24	15.6
Odessa-Midland, TX MSA	45	45	36	55	85.0
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	44	49	35	46	73.0
Olympia, WA PMSA	21	21	34	31	9.4
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	48	52	46	54	39.7
Orange County, CA PMSA	56	59	31	29	875.6
Orlando, FL MSA	41	44	46	37	271.6
Pensacola, FL MSA	23	25	28	32	10.9
Peoria-Pekin, IL MSA	34	38	50	62	5.4
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	60	55	69	42	258.6
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	52	55	29	40	817.0
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	30	32	41	57	17.1
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	35	39	30	41	142.4
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA MSA	68	55	67	50	93.9
Provo-Orem, UT MSA	33	37	37	54	25.8
Pueblo, CO MSA	33	34	34	52	53.7
Racine, WI PMSA	48	49	46	55	15.0
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	43	51	33	35	72.6
Reading, PA MSA	72	74	74	56	36.4
Redding, CA MSA	12	13	24	40	9.0
Reno, NV MSA	41	44	26	31	56.3
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco, WA MSA	53	54	30	56	40.8
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	41	48	42	41	23.3
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	43	44	32	34	1229.0
Rochester, NY MSA	54	38	64	54	47.6
Rockford, IL MSA	46	49	39	50	27.5
Sacramento, CA PMSA	40	42	35	38	234.5
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland, MI MSA	44	46	48	60	19.7

Salem, OR PMSA	43	45	30	40	54.2
Salinas, CA MSA	59	61	44	38	188.0
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	43	47	36	51	144.6
San Angelo, TX MSA	39	40	30	50	31.9
San Antonio, TX MSA	51	53	36	38	816.0
San Diego, CA MSA	51	54	38	35	751.0
San Francisco, CA PMSA	54	57	41	36	291.6
San Jose, CA PMSA	52	55	38	34	403.4
San Luis Obispo-Atascadero-Paso Robles, CA MSA	31	34	23	37	40.2
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA MSA	46	48	35	41	136.7
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA PMSA	57	60	23	38	68.5
Santa Fe, NM MSA	47	52	33	28	65.6
Santa Rosa, CA PMSA	35	38	26	35	79.5
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	48	65	37	35	38.7
Savannah, GA MSA	36	42	42	39	6.4
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre--Hazleton, PA MSA	39	46	44	58	7.5
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	31	35	31	39	126.7
Sherman-Denison, TX MSA	39	40	44	65	7.5
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA MSA	29	33	43	53	7.2
Sioux City, IA-NE MSA	53	53	48	62	14.0
South Bend, IN MSA	50	56	35	55	12.6
Spokane, WA MSA	19	20	28	48	11.6
Springfield, MA MSA	63	40	67	46	74.3
Springfield, MO MSA	23	31	44	59	5.5
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	29	35	41	53	39.7
Stamford-Norwalk, CT PMSA	55	54	60	30	38.3
Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	37	38	33	49	172.1
Syracuse, NY MSA	46	33	57	62	15.1
Tacoma, WA PMSA	32	33	40	38	38.6
Tallahassee, FL MSA	35	54	25	31	11.2
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	45	58	45	59	248.6
Toledo, OH MSA	35	38	40	54	27.1
Topeka, KS MSA	40	43	35	47	12.3
Trenton, NJ PMSA	54	52	60	33	33.9
Tucson, AZ MSA	50	52	29	35	247.6
Tulsa, OK MSA	40	45	41	48	38.6
Tyler, TX MSA	60	62	33	53	19.5
Utica-Rome, NY MSA	54	37	60	67	8.1
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA PMSA	29	32	34	34	99.0
Ventura, CA PMSA	56	60	31	28	251.7
Victoria, TX MSA	42	43	39	38	33.0
Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton, NJ PMSA	49	69	47	55	27.8
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA MSA	43	43	38	51	186.8
Waco, TX MSA	46	48	40	47	38.2
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	48	45	37	35	432.0
Waterbury, CT PMSA	61	45	64	39	26.2
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	43	61	43	47	140.7

Wichita Falls, TX MSA	37	41	41	46	16.5
Wichita, KS MSA	43	46	40	46	40.4
Wilmington, NC MSA	33	46	28	40	5.2
Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD PMSA	45	55	51	36	27.6
Worcester, MA-CT PMSA	60	39	65	50	36.2
Yakima, WA MSA	52	53	29	50	79.9
Yolo, CA PMSA	36	39	21	28	43.7
York, PA MSA	58	50	67	61	11.3
Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	49	39	60	66	10.7
Yuba City, CA MSA	29	30	33	57	28.0
Yuma, AZ MSA	48	48	39	41	80.8

Appendix Four

Regression Model for Latinos and Blacks

For (D) Scores in 2000 and Changes in (D) Scores 1990-2000
Latinos and Blacks: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 5,000

Appendix 4: Regression Model for Latinos and Blacks

for (D) Scores in 2000 and Changes in (D) Scores 1990-2000

Latinos and Blacks: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 5,000

Table #1: ***Demographics***	Latino (D) Score 2000		Black (D) Score 2000		Changes 1990-2000 Latino (D) Score		Changes 1990-2000 Black (D) Score	
	Std Coef.	*P score*	Std Coef.	*P score*	Std Coef.	*P score*	Std Coef.	*P score*
Number of Persons in 2000	0.259	***	0.470	***	0.167	**	0.007	
Percent of Persons in 2000	0.093		-0.110	*	-0.229	***	0.221	***
Number - Suburbanized in 2000	@		@		@		@	
Percent -Suburbanized in 2000	0.182	**	@		-0.115		@	
Number - Foreign Born in 2000	@		@		@		@	
Percent - Foreign Born in 2000	0.352	***	*N/A*	*N/A*	0.095		*N/A*	*N/A*
Suburbanization **AD** in 2000	-0.730	***	-0.428	***	-0.018		0.061	
Number of Persons 1990-2000	@		@		@		@	
Percentage Growth 1990-2000	0.110	**	-0.118	**	0.629	***	-0.047	
Percentage of Total Growth 1990-2000	0.001		0.038		-0.045		0.033	
Number - Suburbanized 1990-2000	@		@		@		@	
Percentage - Suburbanized 1990-2000	0.153	***	@		@		@	
Suburbanization **AD** 1990-2000	-0.139	**	0.185	***	0.016		-0.108	
Squared Multiple R:	0.560		0.657		0.529		0.091	
Adjusted Squared Multiple R:	**0.542**	*(N=235)*	**0.634**	*(N=255)*	**0.510**	*(N=235)*	**0.066**	*(N=255)*
P Score	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	
Durbin-Watson	1.710		1.852		1.783		1.889	

Table #2:
Socio-Economics

Median Household Income	0.130	***	0.222	***	0.164	***	-0.075	
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.613	***	-0.535	***	0.260	**	0.213	
Increase between 1990-2000	0.029		@		0.002		@	
Increase - AD 1990-2000	-0.100		-0.111	*	-0.227	**	-0.111	
College Graduation Rate	-0.301	***	-0.133	**	-0.142	**	0.169	
Anglo Differential in 2000	@		0.185	***	@		-0.127	
Increase between 1990-2000	-0.015		0.071		-0.205	***	-0.137	*
Increase - AD 1990-2000	@		@		@		@	
Professional Occupation Rate	0.083	*	@		0.027		@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.048		0.013		-0.005		0.048	
Increase between 1990-2000	0.039		@		-0.005		@	
Increase - AD 1990-2000	@		-0.047		@		-0.076	
Poverty Rate	@		@		@		@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	@		@		@		@	
Increase between 1990-2000	@		@		@		@	
Increase - AD 1990-2000	-0.046		-0.113	**	-0.040		0.181	**
Unemployment Rate	-0.102	*	0.247	***	-0.117	*	0.120	
Anglo Differential in 2000	@		-0.198	***	@		@	
Increase between 1990-2000	0.033		@		0.021		-0.140	*
Increase - AD 1990-2000	0.098	*	0.085	*	0.101		0.052	
Owner Occupancy Rate	-0.081		@		-0.181	**	@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	@		-0.018		@		-0.061	
Increase between 1990-2000	@		@		@		@	
Increase - AD 1990-2000	0.053		0.137	***	-0.357	***	0.010	
Median Value of Homeowners	@		@		@		@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.220	***	-0.287	**	-0.169	**	-0.114	
Increase between 1990-2000	-0.045		-0.018		0.242	***	-0.170	**
Increase - AD 1990-2000	-0.020		0.014		-0.176	*	0.031	
Squared Multiple R:	0.742		0.719		0.607		0.155	
Adjusted Squared Multiple R:	**0.720**	*(N=227)*	**0.697**	*(N=239)*	**0.573**	*(N=227)*	**0.090**	*(N=239)*
P Score	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.002	
Durbin-Watson	1.780		1.968		1.968		1.590	

Statistical Significance = ****p* <.01, ***p*<.05, **p*<.10

@ Variable is multi-collinear so it has been excluded from the regression model.

Appendix Five

Regression Model for Latinos and Blacks

For (D) Scores in 2000 and Changes in (D) Scores 1990-2000
Latinos and Blacks: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 5,000

Appendix 5: Regression Model for Latinos and Blacks

for (D) Scores in 2000 and Changes in (D) Scores 1990-2000

Latinos and Blacks: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 5,000

Table #3: ***Demographics & Socio-Economics***	Latino (D) Score 2000 Std Coef.	*P score*	Black (D) Score 2000 Std Coef.	*P score*	Changes 1990-2000 Latino (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*	Changes 1990-2000 Black (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*
Number of Persons in 2000	0.059		0.292	***	0.088			
Percent of Persons in 2000			-0.173	***	-0.081		0.369	***
Number - Suburbanized in 2000								
Percent -Suburbanized in 2000	0.232	***						
Number - Foreign Born in 2000								
Percent - Foreign Born in 2000	0.213	***	*N/A*	*N/A*			*N/A*	*N/A*
Suburbanization **AD** in 2000	-0.300	***	-0.005					
Number of Persons 1990-2000								
Percentage Growth 1990-2000	0.175	***	-0.118	**	0.410	***		
Percentage of Total Growth 1990-2000								
Number - Suburbanized 1990-2000								
Percentage - Suburbanized 1990-2000	0.046							
Suburbanization **AD** 1990-2000	-0.082	**	0.015					
Median Household Income	-0.021				0.131	**		
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.582	***	-0.422	***	0.172	**		
Increase between 1990-2000								
Increase - AD 1990-2000			-0.060		-0.135	*		
College Graduation Rate	-0.165	***	-0.231	***	-0.040			
Anglo Differential in 2000			0.242	***				
Increase between 1990-2000					-0.162	***	-0.205	***
Increase - AD 1990-2000								
Professional Occupation Rate	0.092	***						
Anglo Differential in 2000								
Increase between 1990-2000								
Increase - AD 1990-2000								
Poverty Rate								
Anglo Differential in 2000								
Increase between 1990-2000								
Increase - AD 1990-2000			-0.018				0.266	***
Unemployment Rate	-0.044		0.041		0.000			
Anglo Differential in 2000			0.284	***				
Increase between 1990-2000							-0.064	
Increase - AD 1990-2000	0.036		-0.065					
Owner Occupancy Rate					-0.151	**		
Anglo Differential in 2000								
Increase between 1990-2000								
Increase - AD 1990-2000			0.103	**	-0.275	***		
Median Value of Homeowners								
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.152	***	-0.222	***	-0.128	**		
Increase between 1990-2000					0.140	***	-0.139	**
Increase - AD 1990-2000					-0.133	**		
	0.807		0.764		0.707		0.272	
	0.795	*(N=235)*	**0.749**	*(N=255)*	**0.688**	*(N=227)*	**0.256**	*(N=242)*
	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.002	
	2.060		2.002		2.015		1.778	

Statistical Significance = ****p* <.01, **p<.05, *p<.10

@ Variable is multi-collinear so it has been excluded from the regression model.

Appendix Six

Regression Model for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans

For (D) Scores in 2000
Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 2,000

Appendix 6: Regression Model for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans

for (D) Scores in 2000

Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 2,000

Table #1: ***Demographics***	Mexican/Anglo (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*	P.R./Anglo (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*	Cuban/Anglo (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*
Number of Persons in 2000	0.206	***	0.302	***	0.288	*
Percent of Persons in 2000	0.055		0.056		0.182	
Number - Suburbanized in 2000	@		-0.010		@	
Percent -Suburbanized in 2000	0.149	**	@		@	
Number - Foreign Born in 2000	@		@		@	
Percent - Foreign Born in 2000	0.670	***	-0.088		0.252	
Suburbanization **AD** in 2000	-0.340	***	-0.566	***	-0.215	
Number of Persons 1990-2000	@		@		@	
Percentage Growth 1990-2000	-0.117	*	-0.080		0.255	
Percentage of Total Growth 1990-2000	0.081	*	0.082		@	
Number - Suburbanized 1990-2000	@		@		@	
Percentage - Suburbanized 1990-2000	0.094		@		@	
Suburbanization **AD** 1990-2000	-0.066		0.112	**	0.010	
Squared Multiple R:	0.553		0.657		0.328	
Adjusted Squared Multiple R:	**0.535**	*(N=235)*	**0.634**	*(N=133)*	**0.239**	*(N=52)*
P Score	0.000		0.000		0.005	
Durbin-Watson	1.875		1.852		2.302	

Table #2: ***Socio-Economics***						
Median Household Income	0.228	***	0.260		-0.342	
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.271	***	-0.651	***	-0.277	
College Graduation Rate	@		-0.210	**	0.327	
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.289	***	@		-0.858	**
Professional Occupation Rate	@		@		@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	@		@		@	
Poverty Rate	-0.091		@		@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	0.113		0.122	*	0.018	
Unemployment Rate	0.029		0.106		@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	0.104		@		-0.018	
Owner Occupancy Rate	@		@		@	
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.322	***	@		@	
Median Value of Homeowners	-0.326	***	-0.226	**	-0.213	
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.227	**	-0.097		0.365	*
Squared Multiple R:	0.491		0.707		0.674	
Adjusted Squared Multiple R:	**0.465**	*(N=212)*	**0.685**	*(N=100)*	**0.550**	*(N=30)*
P Score	0.000		0.000		0.001	
Durbin-Watson	1.917		1.590		1.666	

Statistical Significance = ****p* <.01, **p<.05, *p<.10

@ Variable is multi-collinear so it has been excluded from the regression model.

Appendix Seven

Regression Model for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans

For (D) Scores in 2000
Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 2,000

Appendix 7: Regression Model for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans

for (D) Scores in 2000

Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans: All Metropolitan Areas with More Than 2,000

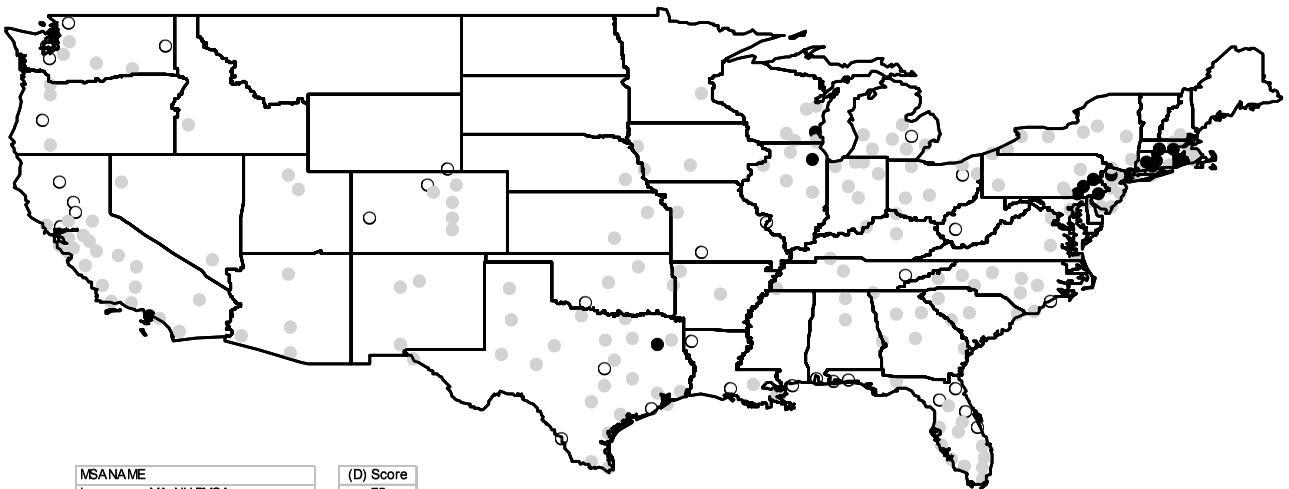
Table #3: ***Demographics & Socio-Economics***	Mexican/Anglo (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*	P.R./Anglo (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*	Cuban/Anglo (D) Score Std Coef.	*P score*
Number of Persons in 2000	0.106	*	0.277	***	0.199	
Percent of Persons in 2000						
Number - Suburbanized in 2000						
Percent -Suburbanized in 2000	0.071					
Number - Foreign Born in 2000						
Percent - Foreign Born in 2000	0.555	***				
Suburbanization **AD** in 2000	-0.091		-0.293	***		
Number of Persons 1990-2000						
Percentage Growth 1990-2000	-0.139	**				
Percentage of Total Growth 1990-2000	0.083	**				
Number - Suburbanized 1990-2000						
Percentage - Suburbanized 1990-2000						
Suburbanization **AD** 1990-2000			0.040			
Median Household Income	0.294	***				
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.321	***	-0.293	***		
College Graduation Rate			-0.142	***		
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.123	**			-0.409	***
Professional Occupation Rate						
Anglo Differential in 2000						
Poverty Rate						
Anglo Differential in 2000			0.125	**		
Unemployment Rate						
Anglo Differential in 2000						
Owner Occupancy Rate	-0.093					
Anglo Differential in 2000						
Median Value of Homeowners	-0.346	***	-0.118	**		
Anglo Differential in 2000	-0.091				-0.104	
Squared Multiple R:	0.677		0.776		0.295	
Adjusted Squared Multiple R:	**0.659**	*(N=233)*	**0.759**	*(N=100)*	**0.250**	*(N=51)*
P Score	0.000		0.000		0.001	
Durbin-Watson	1.918		2.168		2.389	

Statistical Significance = ****p* <.01, ***p*<.05, **p*<.10

@ Variable is multi-collinear so it has been excluded from the regression model.

Maps & Figures

Map 1: Latino Residential Segregation in 2000
(D) Score – Latino/Anglo
Metropolitan Areas > 5,000 Latinos ***(N=236)***



MSANAME	(D) Score
Lawrence, MA-NH PMSA	75
Reading, PA MSA	72
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	68
New York, NY PMSA	67
Bridgeport, CT PMSA	67
Newark, NJ PMSA	65
Hartford, CT MSA	64
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	63
Springfield, MA MSA	63
Chicago, IL PMSA	62
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	62
Lancaster, PA MSA	62

(D) Scores
2000
○ - Low (.000 - .299)
● - Medium (.300 - .599)
● - High (.600 – 1.000)

Regional Pattern

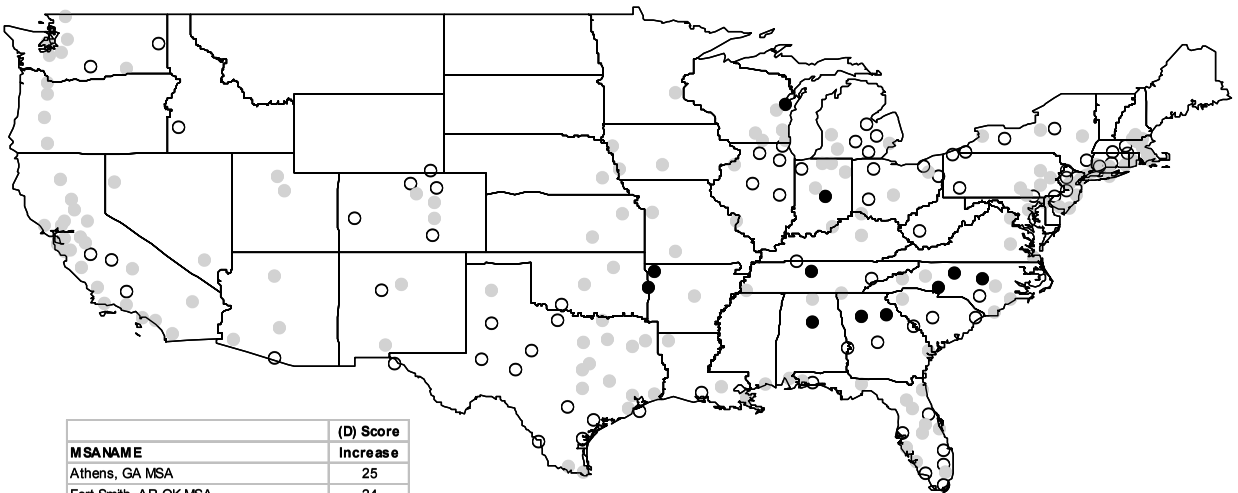
Northeast	60.8
Midwest	54.5
South	42.9
West	50.7

Source: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002.

Map 2: Change in Latino Segregation 1990- 2000

Change in (D) Score – Latino/Anglo

Metropolitan Areas > 5,000 Latinos ***(N=236)***



	(D) Score
MSANAME	**Increase**
Athens, GA MSA	25
Fort Smith, AR-OK MSA	24
Nashville, TN MSA	21
Greensboro--Winston-Salem, NC MSA	20
Green Bay, WI MSA	19
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	18
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR MSA	18
Indianapolis, IN MSA	17
Atlanta, GA MSA	16
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	16
Birmingham, AL MSA	16

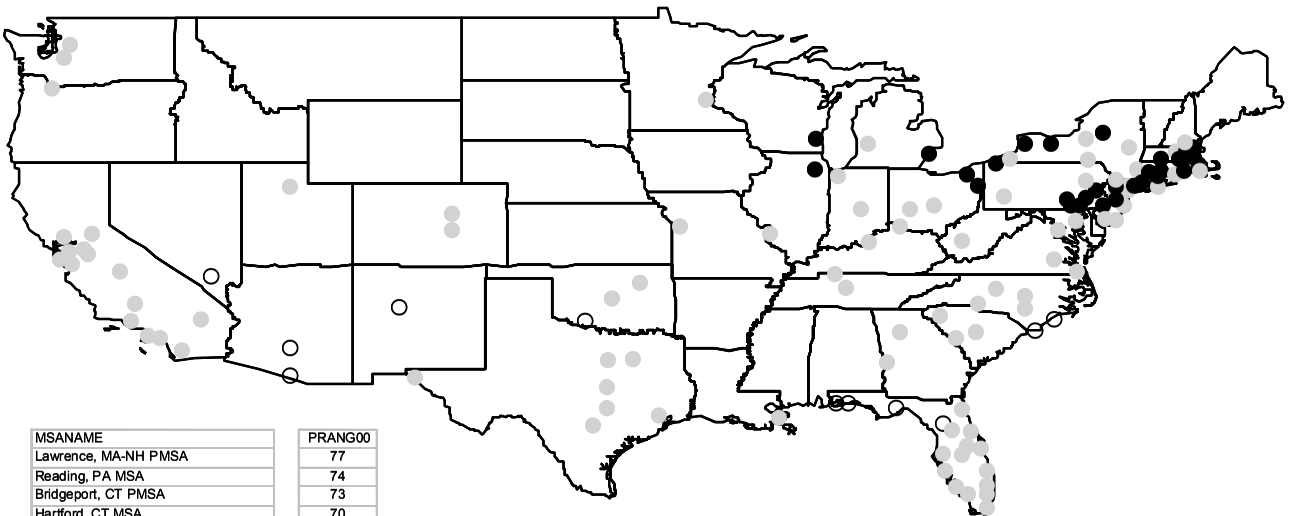
Difference in (D) Scores
1990-2000
- ○ - Decrease
- ● - Increase 0-15 pts
- ● - Increase 15+ pts.

Regional Pattern

Northeast	+1.1
Midwest	+1.8
South	+2.5
West	+3.0

Source: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002.

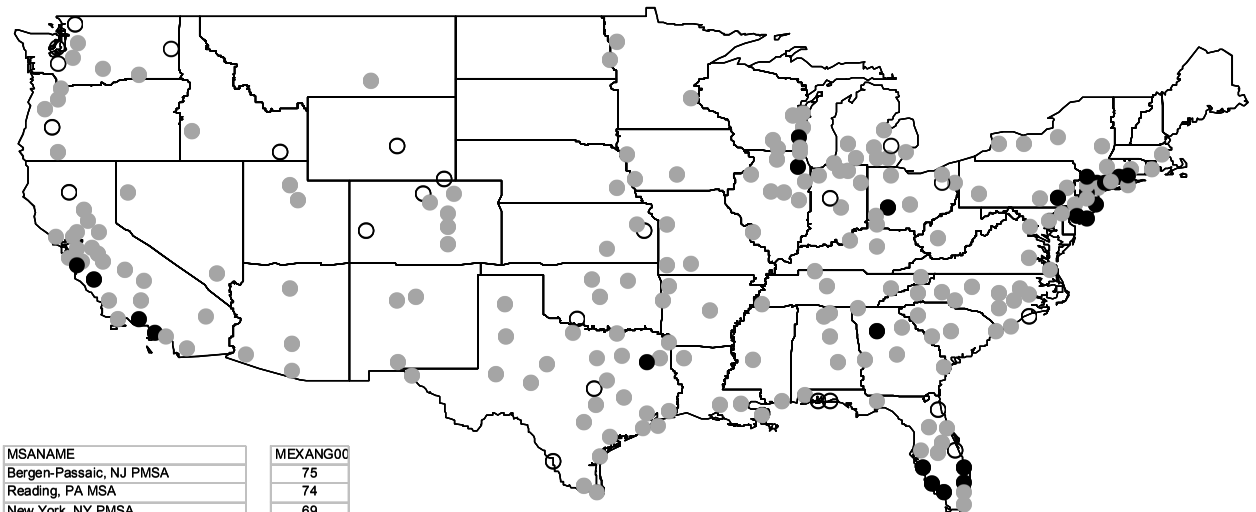
Map 3: Puerto Rican Residential Segregation in 2000
(D) Score – Puerto Rican/Anglo
Metropolitan Areas > 2,000 Puerto Ricans (N=125)



MSANAME	PRANG00
Lawrence, MA-NH PMSA	77
Reading, PA MSA	74
Bridgeport, CT PMSA	73
Hartford, CT MSA	70
New York, NY PMSA	69
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	69
Newark, NJ PMSA	69
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	68
Lancaster, PA MSA	68
Springfield, MA MSA	67
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	67
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA MSA	67
Lowell, MA-NH PMSA	67
York, PA MSA	67

Source: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002.

Map 4: Mexican Residential Segregation in 2000
(D) Score – Mexican/Anglo
Metropolitan Areas > 2,000 Mexicans ***(N=238)***



MSANAME	MEXANG00
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	75
Reading, PA MSA	74
New York, NY PMSA	69
Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton, NJ	69
Naples, FL MSA	68
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	68
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie, FL MSA	68
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	65
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	65
Chicago, IL PMSA	64
Newburgh, NY-PA PMSA	64
New Haven-Meriden, CT PMSA	64
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	62
Tyler, TX MSA	62

(D) Scores
2000
○ - Low - .299
● - Medium - .599
● - High – 1.000

Regional

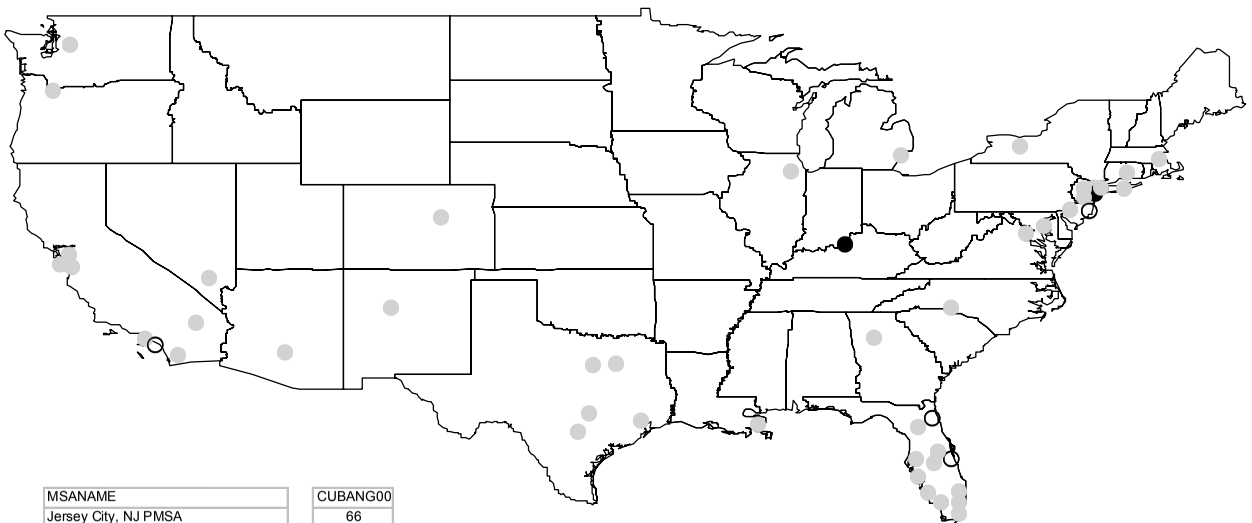
Northea	62.5
Midwe	56.8
Sout	52.6
Wes	52.0

Source: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002.

Map 5: Cuban Residential Segregation in 2000

(D) Score – Cuban/Anglo

Metropolitan Areas > 2,000 Cubans ***(N=46)***



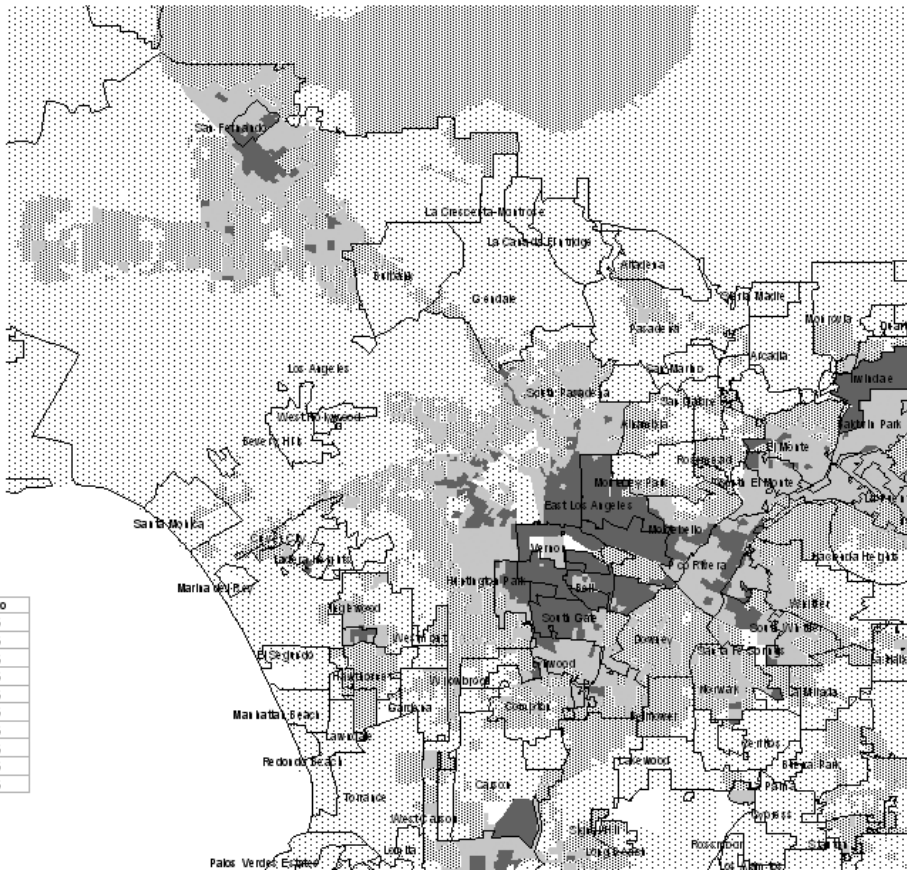
MSANAME	CUBANG00
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	66
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	61
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	59
Newark, NJ PMSA	57
Rochester, NY MSA	54
Miami, FL	54
New York, NY PMSA	52
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	52
Detroit, MI	51
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	50

Regional

Northea	50.7
Midwe	47.6
Sout	51.8
Wes	39.4

Source: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002.

Map 6:
Los Angeles-
Long Beach, CA MSA
Block Group Level

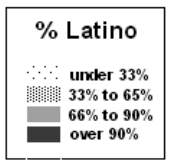


Los Angeles
Inner-Ring Suburbs

NAME	Population	Latino	% Latino
EAST LOS ANGELES	126,379	119,418	94.5%
MAYWOOD	27,850	25,817	92.7%
WALNUT PARK	14,722	13,612	92.5%
HUNTINGTON PARK	56,065	51,066	91.1%
COMMERCE	12,141	11,023	90.8%
CUDAHY	22,817	20,106	88.1%
BELL GARDENS	42,355	36,934	87.2%
BELL	34,365	29,536	86.0%
SOUTH EL MONTE	20,850	17,594	84.4%
SOUTHGATE	86,284	71,740	83.1%

Source: U.S. Census of Population & Housing, 200

Map 7:
New York, NY MSA
Block Group Level

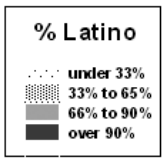


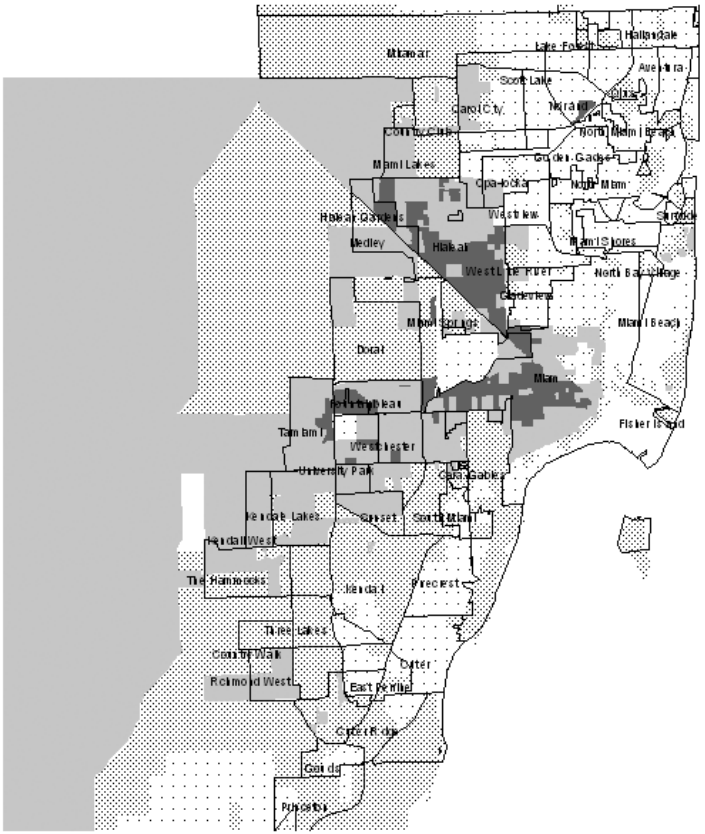
New York
Inner Ring Suburbs

Municipality	% Latino
UNION CITY	75.3%
WEST NEW YORK	73.0%
PASSAIC	69.0%
GUTTENBERG	62.3%
WEEHAWKEN	61.3%
NORTH BERGEN	60.7%
NORTH BAY SHORE	36.7%
BRENTWOOD	34.7%
PORT CHESTER	30.0%
HOBOKEN	29.8%

Source: U.S. Census of Population & Housing, 2000

Map 8:
Miami, FL MSA
At the Municipal Level and Census Tract Levels



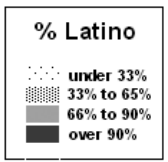


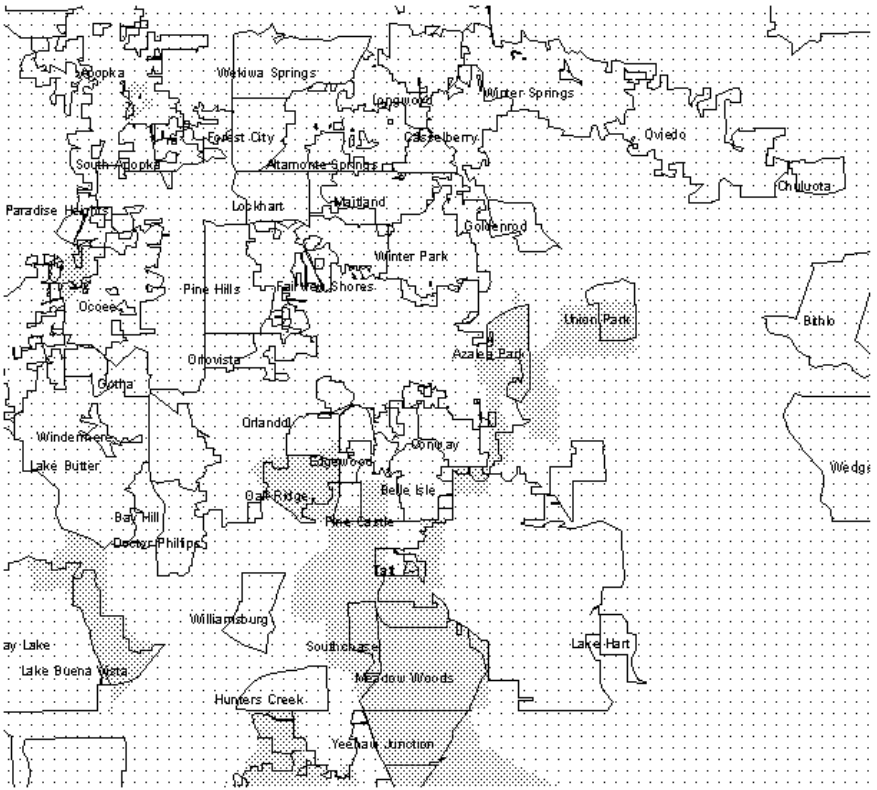
Miami
Inner Ring Suburbs

NAME	Population	Latino	% Latino
SWEETWATER	13,909	12,958	93.2%
HIALEAH	188,004	164,630	87.6%
TAMIAMI	33,845	27,908	82.5%
HIALEAH GARDENS	7,713	6,339	82.2%
WESTCHESTER	29,883	24,526	82.1%
WEST MIAMI	5,727	4,558	79.6%
OLYMPIA HEIGHTS	37,792	29,957	79.3%
CORAL TERRACE	23,255	18,332	78.8%
WESTWOOD LAKES	11,522	7,901	68.6%
KENDALE LAKES	48,524	30,833	63.5%

Source: U.S. Census of Population & Housing, 2000

Map 9:
Orlando, FL MSA
At the Municipal Level and Block Group Level



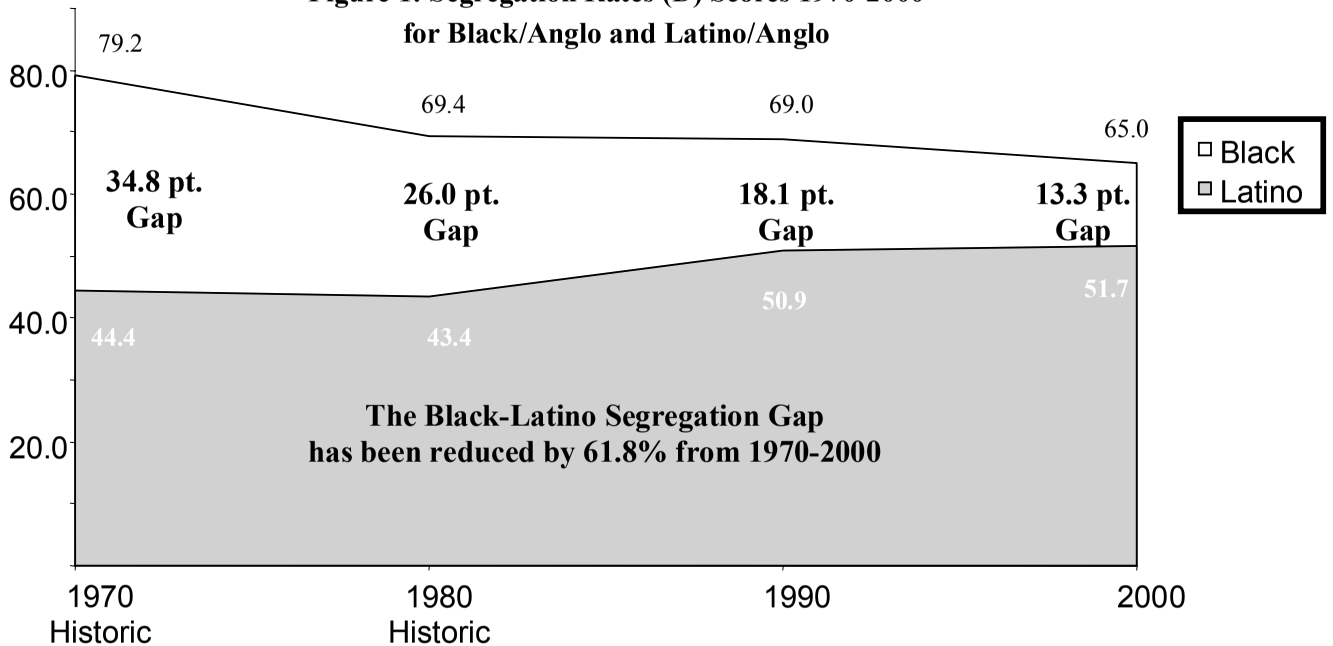


Orlando, FL
Inner Ring Suburbs

Name	Latinos	Population	% Latino
MEADOW WOOD	1720	4876	35.3%
OAK RIDGE	3635	15388	23.6%
SKY LAKE	1261	6202	20.3%
PINE CASTLE	1567	8276	18.9%
AZALEA PARK	1572	8926	17.6%
UNION PARK	858	6890	12.5%
FOREST CITY	1190	10638	11.2%
SOUTH APOPKA	567	6360	8.9%
GOLDENROD	1092	12362	8.8%
LOCKHART	1011	11636	8.7%
ORLANDO	14121	164693	8.6%

Source: U.S. Census of Population & Housing, 2000

Figure 1: Segregation Rates (D) Scores 1970-2000 for Black/Anglo and Latino/Anglo



Source: Historical Data-Massey and Denton, 1987: Sample of 60 Metropolitan Areas
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Index